(4)

A TRIDENT SCHOLAR PROJECT REPORT

NO. 175

"The American In Europe As Portrayed In American Literature Of Late Nineteenth And Early Twentieth Centuries"

UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND

UNCLASSIFIED

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE *(When Data Entered)*

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE		READ INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE COMPLETING FORM
1. REPORT NUMBER U.S.N.A. - TSPR; 175 (1990)	2. GOVT ACCESSION NO.	3. RECIPIENT'S CATALOG NUMBER
4. TITLE *(and Subtitle)* THE AMERICAN IN EUROPE AS PORTRAYED IN AMERICAN LITERATURE OF LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES.		5. TYPE OF REPORT & PERIOD COVERED Final 1989/90 6. PERFORMING ORG. REPORT NUMBER
7. AUTHOR(s) E. Randolph Wootton, III		8. CONTRACT OR GRANT NUMBER(s)
9. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS United States Naval Academy, Annapolis.		10. PROGRAM ELEMENT, PROJECT, TASK AREA & WORK UNIT NUMBERS
11. CONTROLLING OFFICE NAME AND ADDRESS United States Naval Academy, Annapolis.		12. REPORT DATE 22 May 1990 13. NUMBER OF PAGES 172
14. MONITORING AGENCY NAME & ADDRESS*(if different from Controlling Office)*		15. SECURITY CLASS. *(of this report)* 15a. DECLASSIFICATION/DOWNGRADING SCHEDULE

16. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT *(of this Report)*

This document has been approved for public release; its distribution is UNLIMITED.

17. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT *(of the abstract entered in Block 20, if different from Report)*

18. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

Accepted by the U.S. Trident Scholar Committee.

19. KEY WORDS *(Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number)*

American literature - 19th century - History and criticism.
American literature - 20th century - History and criticism.
Americans - Europe.
Americans in literature.

20. ABSTRACT *(Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number)*

Many Americans in their personal interactions with Europeans become aware of fundamental differences of perception between Americans and Europeans. This attitude ultimately surfaces in international relations. For example, during recent NATO conferences, countries like France and West Germany have expressed their concern that America is heavy-handed when independently establishing policies that affect the rest of the

(OVER)

world. This underlying tension that exists between these allies can be traced back to the late 1800's. It was during this age that America began to establish itself as a major economic and political world power. Desiring acceptance by the old world, many wealthy Americans journeyed to Europe to try to assimilate European culture and mores into their own developing national identity. Many Europeans did not want to acknowledge the rise of the new power and, perhaps as a result of this, found the Americans naive and socially ignorant. Many books written by Americans during this era focused on the reality of the American in Europe. Authors like James, Stein, and Hemingway had the experience of living in Europe and observing the relationships between the two peoples. Therefore, due to their unique situation, they were able to re-create the actual lives of Americans in Europe. It is in their books that one can detect the first hints of the tensions that still exist today between the two societies. The research for this project included a careful examination of most of the important works of these authors' canons on the subject of the American in Europe. During the course of this research it was determined that each author had a unique approach to the way in which he or she presented the American identity. In order to clearly define their view of the American identity at the turn of the century, the research analyzed each particular author's presentation of the American in Europe. Along with this primary source research, several secondary sources were examined to evaluate the conclusions. Biographical texts were also examined and incorporated in order to trace a development of the emerging American identity through the turn of the century. Finally, it was concluded that this American identity was different from the European and that this difference has affected political and social dealings between the two peoples since the turn of the century.

19 (cont.)

James, Henry, 1843-1916.
Stein, Gertrude, 1874-1946.
Hemingway, Ernest, 1899-1961.

"The American In Europe As Portrayed In American Literature Of Late Nineteenth And Early Twentieth Centuries"

A Trident Scholar Project Report

by

Midn 1/c E. Randolph Wootton III, USN. Class of 1990

U. S. Naval Academy

Annapolis, Maryland

Dr Bruce E. Fleming

Assistant Professor Bruce E. Fleming
English Department

Accepted for Trident Scholars Committee

Dennis F. Hasson

Chairperson

5/22/90

Date

Abstract

Many Americans in their personal interactions with Europeans become aware of fundamental differences of perception between Americans and Europeans. This attitude ultimately surfaces in international relations. For example, during recent NATO conferences, countries like France and West Germany have expressed their concern that America is heavy-handed when independently establishing policies that affect the rest of the world. This underlying tension that exists between these allies can be traced back to the late 1800's. It was during this age that America began to establish itself as a major economic and political world power. Desiring acceptance by the old world, many wealthy Americans journeyed to Europe to try to assimilate European culture and mores into their own developing national identity. Many Europeans did not want to acknowledge the rise of the new power and, perhaps as a result of this, found the Americans naive and socially ignorant.

Many books written by Americans during this era focused on the reality of the American in Europe. Authors like James, Stein, and Hemingway had the experience of living in Europe and observing the relationships between the two

peoples. Therefore, due to their unique situation, they were able to re-create the actual lives of Americans in Europe. It is in their books that one can detect the first hints of the tensions that still exist today between the two societies.

The research for this project included a careful examination of most of the important works of these authors' canons on the subject of the American in Europe. During the course of this research it was determined that each author had a unique approach to the way in which he or she presented the American identity. In order to clearly define their view of the American identity at the turn of the century, the research analyzed each particular author's presentation of the American in Europe. Along with this primary source research, several secondary sources were examined to evaluate the conclusions. Biographical texts were also examined and incorporated in order to trace a development of the emerging American identity through the turn of the century. Finally, it was concluded that this American identity was different from the European and that this difference has affected political and social dealings between the two peoples since the turn of the century.

Table Of Contents Page

Preface

Although I made the initial proposal for this project only last spring, the real conception of this project took place over three years ago on my first trip to Europe. At that time I was under the impression that in order to complete my education, I would have to go to Europe. For me there had always been something magical and alluring about the idea of going to Europe. I think it originated with my early studies of the American hero myths as a child. Most of the great men, including Ben Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Samuel Clemmens, just to mention a few, spoke more than one language and had traveled extensively through Europe. I had so idealized the act of traveling to Europe, that it had become almost like a rite of passage for me. Somehow I thought that by going to Europe I would become worldly.

So there I was, having finally arrived in Heathrow airport and walked for the first time on foreign shores, reflecting on the historic and personal significance of the event (what that was I did not know) when I realized that I really needed to find the restroom. Determined to conquer this challenge of finding the men's room by myself, I ran around the airport for another ten minutes until, with

sweat on my brow, I figured out, only by the picture on the door, that a "WC" was what I was looking for. Thus, it occurred to me that I was almost done in by my very first challenge.

However, I was victorious and ready to move on to the next challenge this new world would offer me. My first adventure had taught me that if I were even going to make it to a "big" adventure, I would need someone to help me negotiate the smaller obstacles in my path--like a place to stay for the night. By process of elimination, I decided to contact the one and only person on this side of the ocean I knew, an American student named Victoria who was on an exchange semester at The University Of London. I had her number and figured I would give her a call once I arrived in London.

I managed to get myself by train to Victoria Station where I had one of my many pseudo-great revelations about English life. This one was inspired by English currency. I had changed some money at the airport but it was not until I actually arrived in London that I exchanged a large sum of American money and received a very small sum of British Pounds. Even though my worldly fortune had been severely diminished by the exchange rate, I still could not help from staring in awe at the new money I held in my hands. Not only did it seem foreign but it also struck me as oddly beautiful. Sometimes I wonder if other people are also

awestruck by foreign currency. The paper money was of different sizes and colors. This struck me as a completely foreign concept since I had been brought up on the very practical but boring greenbacks of America. So, I stood there for several moments unable to do anything but feel, smell, and examine the money that looked as far as I could tell like "play money" from a Monopoly game.

After stumbling around the center of London for an hour or so, I decided that I wanted to begin my immersion into the culture so I looked around for a pub. To me there was nothing more typically "Londonish" than a pub. Therefore, I began my search and eventually found a pub off the beaten path. I thought its somewhat hidden location would provide me with a better chance to meet the real English. I stepped up to the bar with my backpack over my shoulder and ordered a plowman's lunch and the favorite bitter. Even though it was only eleven o'clock in the morning, I thought it would be good to abide by the old maxim: when in London do as the British do and so I had a pint of Watney's at eleven o'clock in the morning still in my travel attire with all my bags by my side.

As I sat there I thought how funny I must have looked walking around London with my bags on my shoulders, a dazed look, and mouth open, turning around and around in circles trying to absorb the complete panorama of sights, sounds, and smells. After later reflection I came to

realize that basically things were the same. They had cars, apartment buildings, cops, stores, sidewalks, pollution and fast food joints. However, when one looked closer there were subtle differences that separated British "typical" things from American "typical" things. It was as if everything were somewhat askew, as if I were looking out of my peripheral vision where reality is slightly distorted. An example would be my first encounter with British drivers, an encounter that turned out to be dangerously close. I had always heard that the British drove on the other side of the road but that fact never sunk in until when I went to cross a street looking left, right, then left again and took a step off of the curb and... I almost got hit. I jumped back up onto the curb and laughed at myself and thought, "Wow what an American thing to do."

After I was comfortably settled on my bar stool, I tried to start a friendly conversation with one of the other patrons but was politely ignored. Oh well, I figured I had invaded their pub and should probably just sit and listen. I enjoyed my lunch in silence trying to take in the ambiance of the pub, the cockney voices and the smell of London filtering in through the windows. Even being snubbed by British arrogance was not going to detract from the feeling of euphoria that I was experiencing just being in London.

Satiated by good food and drink, I decided before I proceeded any further it would be good for me to get in

contact with Victoria. On the phone she said that she was happy I had made it safely and agreed to meet me in an hour. The only problem was that I did not know where any of the landmarks were that she was describing and she did not know where the pub was I was describing. It sounds silly and typically American but the only common reference point we could agree on was the McDonald's by Charing Cross. We could agree upon this because it had its very prominent and somewhat presumptuous golden arches standing high above Trafalgar Square. I had remembered seeing them when I was looking for a pub and thinking, "God, if this is all they have taken from America no wonder they don't like us." I could remember how to get back to that central location so we agreed to meet at McDonald's in an hour's time. Sitting in the pub in silence, I reflected on the poetic justice of my situation. I had traveled thousands of miles to encounter Europe and now I was going to sit in a McDonald's for an hour waiting to meet an American. My only consolation was the fact that I did indeed need a place to stay and get settled before I could venture out into the unknown.

I waited and read my tour book trying to plan an itinerary but I was continually distracted by the types of people who would choose the cancer causing staple of a McDonald's in London when they had a choice to eat very healthy pub grub. Sometime during my distractions, Victoria

arrived. She had not eaten all day and much to my chagrin, was "dying for a hamburger." Thus, we decided to sit and catch up in the McDonald's before we began the long haul back to her flat. It was during the ensuing conversation that I came in contact with my first Cockney and somewhat belligerent Englishman who had a strong dislike for anything and anyone American. It was he, little would he realize, who was the real stimulus for this project.

"Randy, it's really good to see you. God how long has it been. Let's see, didn't I see you when I was in Washington last?"

"Yeah, I think so; I can't really remember. Are you sure it wasn't when I visited New York?"

"No, I remember now. I had come up to Washington for the pro-choice demonstration on the mall. I remember because it was such a mob scene and I thought I would never be able to find you. It was like really freaky the way that we just kind of ran into each other outside of them big ole' buildings."

"Yeah, that's right. That was pretty lucky, huh. As I remember we had a good time that weekend playing in Washington and Annapolis. God, Vicky, was that really the last time we saw each other? It seems so long ago."

"I think so. I have been so involved with school and demonstrations around the South that that was really the

last time I was able to get up there to visit. So how are things going up there?"

"Oh, pretty well. I mean I'm surviving just like everyone else. I don't know, Victoria, sometimes I feel so trapped. If I weren't at The Academy, I would be free to pursue so many more of the dreams that I have. For example, look at you. You are able to come over to Europe and spend one semester in Paris and one semester in London experiencing and learning. What I would give to be able to do something like that."

"Come on Randy it's really no big deal. I mean I gotta go back and think about getting a "real" job. You on the other hand will have many opportunities to travel and experience different cultures when you graduate."

"I know, I know, but that is different. You are free to move around as you want without any limitations. You could go to the Grecian isles, the Swiss Alps, the Venetian canals, or the Norwegian fjords in search of adventure."

At this time, behind us, a man, whom we had previously not noticed rose abruptly from his seat and turned around to face us. The abruptness of his motion interrupted our conversation so that we both turned to look at him. He was a very cockney looking blue collar worker decked out in his weather and work stained overalls. My lasting impression of him was a burly beard and an overall

rough appearance. I, as I remember, had thought to myself how similar he looked to the type of men I had seen in the pub earlier. However, he was more than willing to voice his own opinion than were his compatriots in the pub. In fact, he stood there glaring at us with steely eyes as if to intimidate us or more likely to try to think us out of his country. After a full ten seconds of silence, he said in a very heavy accent:

"Typ'cal 'merican, full ah shit! All you 'mericans ar' full ah bloody shit!!!"

Needless to say this retort caught both Victoria and me completely by surprise. We had been engaged in what we thought was a personal conversation and at the very least did not mean anybody any offense by what we said. However, this Englishman who must have been listening to our conversation obviously found something Victoria or I said very offensive. For the first time in my life, I was at a loss for words and could only respond, "Well, sir, it's pretty ironic that you would say that standing in a McDonald's, don't you think?" He had no reply to this but turned with a look of sheer disgust and stormed out of the door and into the passing crowd.

The whole encounter left me pretty shaken. I had come to England with the best of intentions. I was trying

not to impose any of my American perspectives or prejudices on what I saw or whom I met. Instead, I thought I had a comparatively open mind and was trying to assimilate English culture as best as I could. I had heard talk of the "ugly American" but I thought if I showed the British that I was sincerely interested in them and their way of life they would accept me and be tolerant of the fact that I was nothing more than a "damned colonial." It was tough for me to rationalize that I had been labeled and dismissed before I even had a chance to defend myself.

It was this feeling of being misjudged and sold short that spawned the birth of this Trident project. Having now spent a total of four months traveling Europe encountering many warm and friendly people in thirteen different countries, I am still not able to put to rest the injustice I felt that very first day in London. To me it was more than one small insignificant encounter in my life. It was indicative, in a much larger sense, of a problem that needed to be addressed and rectified.

There is a difference between Americans and Europeans. There always has been and will probably always will be. This difference needs to be acknowledged, understood, and treated in a way that does not hinder our countries' interactions on a personal as well as a global level. If one person continues to harbor bad feelings towards another just because the other person is a

foreigner, they will never be able to work together towards solving problems that face both of their countries.

I am not advocating a world-wide homogeneous society that denies any traditional or cultural identity. Instead, I am suggesting that more action should be taken to educate the world's population on how different countries of the world can work together once they understand each other and appreciate what every country has to offer towards the betterment of the world. So this, my Trident Project, is the beginning of what I see as a lifelong endeavor to try to help myself and others understand the differences that separate our societies so that in the future, we can hopefully work beyond these differences.

I am indebted to many people for their support and help during these past months of trial and tribulation. I would like to express my thanks to the special few by immortalizing them in print. Hence, I offer my most enduring thanks to Prof. Fleming, my extended family, roommates, and one or two other esteemed friends who all had to put up with me. Please know that your help and understanding were much appreciated.

Chapter One: Introduction

It is clear that even today there exists a certain tension between Americans and Europeans when they interact politically and socially. When I was in America, I became used to Americans referring to Europeans in a derogatory way. On the other side of the ocean, I discovered that when most Europeans learned that I was an American, they immediately distanced themselves. Thus, I concluded that there was a problem. Indeed, for many years people have commented on the tension that exists between America and the European community. What makes my Trident project unique is the way in which I approached the subject.

I started by asking several questions. First, is there an inherent difference between America and Europe other than their geographical separation? Second, if so, then what caused this difference? In other words, how did this tension begin? Third, what is this difference? How is an American different from a European? Finally, by working through these questions I hoped to answer the following question: is there hope of resolving our differences so that in the future we could work better together as members of a global community?

The approach I take in answering these questions

has been determined by my own interest in literature. I felt that to trace the differences between the two societies, I would have to consider historical records of the morals and sensibilities of these societies--more, at any rate, than a mere history book that just related facts. That is, I needed to find a source that would offer some insight into the thoughts and feelings of the two societies over the years.

I believe that novels and short stories provide this insight into peoples' minds. To be sure, novels and short stories are works of fiction and the characters represented are fictional. However, the characters' reactions to and interactions with other characters give a better insight into what the people of a particular time period thought and felt than do mere historical facts.

I wished to determine at what time period the differences between Americans and Europeans first developed. I decided that for my purposes, the turn of the twentieth century would be the most fruitful time period of research. After establishing itself as a democracy and putting the Civil War behind it, America was just starting to exert an influence on Europe. It was also at this time that Americans, made wealthy by manufacture and commerce, began to travel to Europe in any numbers. Due to the sociological, economic, and political situation in America, the country was on the brink of becoming a world power.

Yet, it is in the writings of an author even earlier than this that we get a sense of the situation of the authors of the turn of the century: the Frenchman Alexis de Tocqueville. And it is with him that we must start. Before I proceed with my argument I wish to offer a brief consideration of what de Tocqueville discovered when he visited America in the 1830's. De Tocqueville was an aristocrat who saw America through European eyes. He was also the first to catalogue and develop a logical argument about what separates Americans from Europeans. Thus, he provides an excellent starting point for a paper in which I am going to discuss the difference between Americans and Europeans.

Well over one hundred years ago Alexis de Tocqueville visited the U.S. only once, for nine months, in 1838. His intention, as expressed by Monroe Spears, a modern critic, "was not to judge the civilization of the United States in comparison with others, but to consider the U.S. as the first experiment in democracy made on a large scale."[1] Thus, he came to examine and record his observations about the new democracy. After only nine months in the country, he had compiled enough notes to write Democracy In America, which still stands today as one of the great works on American society, politics, and people.

---

[1] Monroe Spears, "Tocqueville In 1989," The Hudson Review, August 1989: 370.

In his book, de Tocqueville began by observing that though Americans and Europeans were somehow related, there was something inherently different about America. Spears says that "unlike romantic primitivists (often French) who portrayed Americans as naturally good, noble, and innocent, or condescending Englishmen who thought them savages or criminals, de Tocqueville considers Americans to be fundamentally the same as Europeans."[2] However, Spears also recognizes that de Tocqueville thought that Americans were a different type of man. Allen Billington, a modern historian, comments that "Tocqueville believed that God had assured Freedom for the Americans by placing them in a boundless continent."[3] Thus, because America lay over two thousand miles away from Europe, it began to develop as an autonomous society. As a people the Americans were indebted to the Old World for the traditions that they borrowed in order to establish their own society, but they declared that they were not dependent on modern European society for anything more. De Tocqueville says, "the admirable position of the New World is that man has no other enemy than himself; and that, in order to be happy and to be free, it suffices to seek the gifts of prosperity and the knowledge

---

[2] Ibid., 371.

[3] Allen Billington, America's Frontier Heritage, (Albuquerque: New Mexico UP, 1974), 122.

of freedom."[4]

De Tocqueville suggests that in some ways America was the product of Europe, a logical next step in the evolution of man. He says, "the peoples of Europe started from the darkness of a barbarous condition to advance toward the light of civilization and in this pursuit their progress has been unequal" (p. 321). The Americans took advantage of the history of Europe so that when they settled, they did so in "a state of civilization" (p. 322). They did not have to go back to the dawn of civilization and repeat all the mistakes and successes of earlier cultures. They could pick up from where Europe had stopped in its evolution and begin again in a new land. Thus, even though "everything about him [the pioneer] is primitive and uninformed . . . he is himself the result of the labor and the experiences of eighteen centuries" (p. 322). I think that many Europeans initially saw America as a kind of promised land in that by going there somehow they would be escaping the depravity and corruption of Europe.

By starting over in a new land Americans were able both to incorporate the good aspects and to avoid the bad aspects of European society when they established their own society. De Tocqueville noticed that "the great advantage

---

[4] Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy In America, 2 vols. (New York: P.F. Collier and Son, 1900), 1:172. (All further citations from Democracy In America refer to this edition).

of the United States does not, then, consist in a Federal Constitution which allows them to carry on great wars, but in geographical position which renders such enterprises extremely improbable" (p. 171). Thus, the evolution of American society would not be threatened by the destructive force of war. Americans could "commit faults which they may afterwards repair" (p. 242). In Europe, if one country made a grievous mistake in foreign policy another country would most likely take offense and declare war. America, on the other hand was allowed to grow and develop without suffering severe and immediate punishment for its mistakes because of its relative geographical isolation.

De Tocqueville discovered that the location and geography of America allowed for the development of a unique type of government: democracy. When the first settlers came, de Tocqueville notes that "the Anglo--Saxons settled the New World in a state of social equality" (p. 325). Thus, in the U.S. the people "[were] not disposed to hate the superior classes of society" (p. 203). Instead, all the classes of people worked together to form a society based on the guaranteed principles of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." They formed a federal government based on the principle that "the purpose of a democracy in the conduct of its legislation [was] useful to a greater number of citizens" (p. 241). De Tocqueville notes that this democracy was different from the democracy that was

born in France. He says that "In Europe we are at a loss how to judge the true character of democracy" (p. 200).

This democratic government in America gave birth to a type of individual, the American, who was imbued with a sense of equality and freedom. Billington comments that Americans, because they "believed all men are judged to be equal, are assured that all have the same freedom of individual expression. 'They are apt to imagine' wrote de Tocqueville 'that their whole destiny is in their own hands.'"[5] With this mentality, Americans thought that they could make themselves successful. As de Tocqueville wrote, before the pioneer "lies a boundless continent, and he urges forward as if time pressed him and he was afraid of finding no room for his exertions. All about were riches galore in the form of untapped resources; only his labor was needed to transform them into wealth."[6] As a result, Americans developed a political as well as sociological environment that stressed the equality of all men. All men would have the same opportunity to succeed or fail. With regards to this distinctly American attitude, one commentator said "the Englishman has built according to his means--the American to his expectations."[7] Consequently, the American

---

[5] Billington, 140.

[6] Quoted by Billington, 168.

[7] Billington, 201.

never felt burdened by obstacles. It was out of such aspirations that I think the "American dream" evolved. As Billington relates, Lord Bryce [an Englishman] "found the Americans 'more hopeful' than any that he knew. Nowhere in the world was the rags to riches myth more universally accepted, and nowhere did the people gamble with greater assurance that rewards were certain, no matter how impossible the odds."[8]

Other aspects of American life that de Tocqueville thought contributed to the American identity included their patriotism, their educational system, and their religion. Billington writes that "overseas visitors who observed the Americans recognized that unusual dependence on the national government had bred unusual loyalties."[9] De Tocqueville suggests that this may be due to the fact that "when an American asks for the co-operation of his fellow citizens it is seldom refused."[10] The Americans, because of their isolation as a country, needed to learn how to depend on each other and their government to help make it through the difficulties that awaited all of them in this new land. Billington thinks that in America, the people "must assist each other, if they wish to be assisted themselves--and

---

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid., 211.

[10] Quoted by Spears, 374.

there always will be a mutual dependence."[11] Thus, Americans expressed a loyalty to each other and to their country that was unheard of in the Old World. It is interesting to note that even de Tocqueville, sympathetic though he was, was driven to confess that "nothing is more embarrassing in the ordinary intercourse of life than this irritating patriotism of the Americans."[12] Somehow in Europe this sense of mutual dependency had died over the centuries.

The American educational system sprang out of this desire to help each American establish himself and his fortune. De Tocqueville says that "New England education and the liberties of the communities were engendered by the moral and religious principles of their founders" (p. 204). Thus, the founders who believed in an equal education for all men established a policy that is still in effect today. Based on the idea that all men should be given an education, state-supported schools were set up and funded to provide an American the basics. Thus "in New England every citizen receives the elementary notions of human knowledge; [and there] is not a single district in the U.S. sunk in complete ignorance" (p. 310). The ultimate proof of the effectiveness of this educational system was the value of it

---

[11] Billington, 114.

[12] Quoted by Billington, 206.

to those who ventured into the wilderness. De Tocqueville characterizes these frontiersmen as a "highly civilized being who consents for a time to inhabit the backwoods, and who penetrates into the wilds of the New World with his Bible, an axe and some newspapers."[13]

According to de Tocqueville, the most unique aspect of America was the prominence religion played in the Americans' lives. De Tocqueville reflects that "from the earliest settlement of the emigrants politics and religion contracted an alliance which has never been dissolved" (p. 305). The power of religion has never been fully realized or utilized. As de Tocqueville explains, "In the United States religion exercises but little influence upon the laws and upon the details of public opinion, but it directs the manners of the community" (p. 371). Thus, religion provides a moral guide line for Americans to live by. Hence, while the law of the land permits Americans to do what they please, the religion of the land prevents them from "conceiving, and forbids them to commit what is rash or unjust" (p. 310). The interesting aspect of this communal morality is that the entire nation, at least in the late 1800's, believed in this ideology. The early Americans "combined notions of Christianity and of liberty so intimately in their minds, that it is impossible to make

---

[13] Quoted by Spears, 374.

them conceive the one without the other" (p. 311). It was this interdependent ideology of America which combines patriotism, education and religion that sets the Americans apart. Spear points out that "de Tocqueville observed in 1835 [that] patriotism, education, and respect for religion are essential bonds in America replacing other ties [in Europe]."[14]

De Tocqueville does acknowledge that the isolation of America had limited its populace in some respects. Spears offers an illustration of this: the American pioneer may have been "acquainted with the past, curious of the future and ready for the argument upon the present,"[15] but this was only in regards to America and American idealogy. De Tocqueville warns that "an American should never be allowed to speak of Europe; for he will then probably display a vast deal of presumption and very foolish pride" (p. 374). Thus, America in its earliest stages of development took a different course which led to its estrangement from the European community, mentality, and history.

De Tocqueville also feels that the democratic system of America contributed to its alienation by Europe. Spears points out that de Tocqueville was "extremely aware

---

[14] Spears, 370.

[15] Ibid., 374.

of the pressures toward uniformity inherent in democracy, endangering the independence and privacy, as well as the diversity, of individuals."[16] Because of this America had not as of yet produced men of great influence and capability. De Tocqueville infers that it is because everyone feels equal that no one longs to become better than his peers. This is why in 1838 de Tocqueville noted that "America has hitherto produced very few writers of distinction; it possesses no great historians, and not a single eminent poet." The American identity, so dependent on the equality of its citizens, is "adverse to general ideas; and it does not seek theoretical discoveries" (p. 320).

De Tocqueville suggested that this unity and equality of the American people would start to be an influence in the world in the years to come. This is one reason that people today in 1990 still look back to de Tocqueville and the observations he made in 1838. It helps us to establish a reference frame in order to judge how far America has come in its own growth and its influence in the world. De Tocqueville is still timely, and relevant to my argument here. For example, de Tocqueville says "there is no literature in America now, but when it comes, it will be

---

[16] Ibid., 371.

different."[17]

In fact, de Tocqueville seems to have prophesied what modern American society as a whole would be like. Americans, he says, "live in a state of incessant change of place, feelings, and fortunes" (p. 377). This was diametrically opposed to the European way of living that was steadfast and set in its traditions, locations, and family wealth. Spears says that Americans "ask for beauties, self-proffered and easily enjoyed; above all, they must have what is unexpected and new" (p. 377). Their way of life came to embody this restless spirit. Thus, the literature that sprang forth from this environment was destined to be different. Only in America where the people "were accustomed to the struggle, the crosses, and the monotony of practical life, would they require "rapid emotions, and startling passages"[18] from their literature.

De Tocqueville discovered and described what he felt were very real differences between the two societies. And these conclusions provide a perspective that I came to refer back to continually during my research. Yet, since I am an American, my arguments and conclusions were destined to be different than de Tocqueville's. I felt that it was necessary to look at the American perspective. I felt that

---

[17] Ibid., 377.

[18] Ibid., 377.

as clearly as de Tocqueville had presented the American character, he would never have been able to capture the complete essence of the American identity without being an American himself. Thus, I wanted to focus on American authors who in their own way achieved insight into the American identity.

I decided to limit myself to authors writing around the turn of the century. It was during this period that America first began to really discover its identity as a country and was just beginning to make an impact on the world. Since I wanted to focus on the differences between Americans and Europeans and why Americans were shunned by Europeans, I felt that I would need to find authors who wrote about Americans and their experiences in Europe. This led me to a further narrowing of the field. The American author writing about the American identity would also have to be intimately familiar with the European perspective. Otherwise, there would be no way that the author would be able to do justice to the European side of the argument.

Finally, three authors stood as the best examples of the type I was looking for. The three authors were Henry James, Gertrude Stein and Ernest Hemingway. All three spent a great amount of time in Europe, with James and Stein becoming virtual expatriates. All three focused at different points in their careers on the American identity. Consequently, all three were important milestones in the

development of American literature. Thus, there was an inherent connection between these three authors that provided structure and unity to my argument.

Although they had much in common, I discovered that each had a unique way of approaching the theme and condition of the American in Europe. In James, this is found in his characters. In Stein, it is a kind of structure of the writing itself. And in Hemingway, it is found in a combination of the two. This difference in where the consideration of the American theme is to be found in the three authors requires a difference in approach. Since James develops his theories about the American identity through his characters, I focused on his characters as well and tried to show how each character embodies a certain facet or facets of this American identity. However, my discussion of Stein focuses solely on her style and structure, for it was through these aspects of her writing that she revealed her own American nature, and showed what the American identity was during her time. She sets up a completely distinct dichotomy of differences between Americans and Europeans than does James. She asserts that being American includes understanding that the American way of doing things is different from the European way of doing things. The American must come to grips with this fact and begin to discover his own identity. She realized that she had started a revolution in style and thought, and defended

the idea that Americans no longer need to write hindered by the technique and tradition of the past generations. However, she also acknowledged her indebtedness to James for his contribution to the understanding of the American identity in literature.

With James, I focused on the American characters and on how James is commenting on Americans as a whole. With Stein I focused on her style and considered how it exudes a sense of the unique American identity in its very being and existence. Moreover, I tried to show how her works stand as a statement of a new American way of looking at things. The connection that exists between James and Stein is that James was one of the first to recognize in literature a difference between Americans and Europeans as well as to try to develop what this difference was from the American point of view. It took Stein, with her revolutionary thinking, to arrive at the idea that Americans were completely different, and that if they were truly going to come to terms with themselves and their identity they needed to rediscover everything, from living their lives to the way that they were going to write about their lives.

Hemingway combines both of these authors' unique perspectives on the revelation of the American identity into one approach. He is heavily indebted to Stein: throughout his novels there are traces of Steinian thought and style. His development of the theme of the difference between

Americans and Europeans, however, takes place through his characters. And it is in this way that he is linked to James since James was the master of character analysis and dissecting. It is my intention, therefore, to show the connection between these authors and the ways that they develop or help reveal the American identity.

Chapter Two: Henry James

Less than two years old and in Paris with his parents, Henry James is quoted as describing the Eiffel Tower as being the "tall and glorious column." According to Robert Gale, "this moment was the start of his lifelong love affair with Europe."[1] Born in 1843 in New York, James travelled with his family to Europe six times before he was eighteen years old. In the opinion of one critic, Fred Lewis, it was as if "James had been reared deliberately for detachment . . . he was as free from patriotic narrowness to the extent of being for the most part of his life a man without a country."[2] Thus, he unconsciously cultivated a perspective that would allow him to comment without bias on Americans in foreign countries.

Gale suggests that when James made his first trip to Europe as an adult in 1869, he laid the foundation for what would become a "lifelong pattern of travel, observation, and writing."[3] Lewis says that when James made

---

[1] Dictionary Of Literary Biography vol.74, s.v."James, Henry," by Robert Gale.

[2] Fred Lewis, The Development Of The American Short Story (New York: Pattee Harper and Bros. Pub., 1923), 196.

[3] Gale, 193.

his "passionate pilgrimage to Europe, [he] had discovered with emotion Italy, France and England and like Irving Willis and Longfellow had found over them a golden atmosphere which he attempted to reproduce in stories."[4] In a letter to Grace Norton, James says that "England and Italy, with their countless helps to life and pleasure, are the lands for happiness and self oblivion."[5] At the early age of twenty four, we see, James had become infatuated with a world that would hold him enthralled for the rest of his life.

By 1876 James had published in periodicals a total of twenty-six short stories and two novels. Critics agree that his best work to that point was a novel called Roderick Hudson, about a young American and his adventures in Europe. Lewis says that it was

> after 1875 that he made use of European material for his work, using the American scene or American characters as a contrast or foil. [His goal was] to analyze with minuteness social conditions and manners and the actions and reactions of men and women under highly civilized conditions.[6]

As time went on, James became obsessed with the actions and reactions of men and women in social conditions. He says in

---

[4] Lewis, 199.

[5] Henry James, The American, ed. James Tuttleton (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1978), 323.

[6] Lewis, 201.

a letter written to the American novelist William Howells, a close friend, "It is on manners, customs, usages, habits, forms, upon all these things a novelist lives."[7]

With Roderick Hudson James created a sub-genre of literature, the international novel concerned with "the polarity between America and Europe."[8] In the collection of James' prefaces, The Art Of The Novel, which were written many years after his conception of the sub-genre, James is quoted as describing the international novel as one in which

> a character, usually guided in his actions by the mores of one environment, is set down in another, where he must employ all of his individual resources to meet successive situations, and where he must intelligently accommodate himself to the new mores, or, in one way or another, be destroyed.[9]

Although Roderick Hudson was the first in a long series of novels dedicated to this subject, it was James second novel on this subject, The American, that established the rules governing this sub-genre. Irving Howe, in his article "Henry James the Millionaire," states that "The American is the first full scale expression of James' view of the

---

[7] Ibid.

[8] Dictionary of Literary Biography, vol. 71, s.v., "James, Henry."

[9] Henry James, The Art Of The Novel (London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), 37-9.

conflict between European and American civilization."[10]

Over the years, James had developed his own theory on how a novel should be written and he tried to incorporate as much of this theory as possible in The American. He said that "a novel should be a presentation of human character." This means "that the protagonist should be the thematic and structural center of the novel and that plots should be open-ended."[11] Lewis claims that for James "the imperative thing was truth, accurate characterization, accurate reporting of dialogue, accurate picturization, accurate determination of motive and of mental reactions."[12] The American attests to James' ability to incorporate all of these ideas into one novel.

Roderick Hudson is concerned with a young American and his adventures in Europe. However, in this novel James is also concerned with commenting on the two societies. He feels there is a difference between the two peoples and that these differences need to be studied and revealed to the world as a whole. In setting up the disparity between the two types of people, James suggests that of the two the European way of life is the more established, tested way of

---

[10] Irving Howe, "Henry James The Millionaire," The American, ed. James Tuttleton (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1978), 442.

[11] Dictionary Of Literary Biography, vol. 71, s.v., "Henry James."

[12] Lewis, 201.

life since it has been evolving since the earliest peoples of Europe established communities. In 1878, Frederick Sheldon, a contemporary critic of James, wrote that a European "would comfortably assume that the standard of manners--the shaping influences--in his own country are the highest, and that if he is a gentleman according to these canons he may go his way in peace."[13] For James, the American way of life is a new and untested way of life conceived in a new world by pioneers who were tired of what Europe had to offer. He says in a letter to his mother: "It's the absolute and incredible lack of culture that strikes you in common travelling Americans."[14] James, as he often stated, was only trying to mediate between the two peoples. And although he is at times critical of both societies, he never states that he prefers one society to the other. This judgement he leaves to his reader.

The analysis of a society as a whole is a nebulous concept and too broad in scope for James to incorporate in a story. However, since a society is made up of people, James is able to narrow his focus from a society as a whole to the parts that make up that society. By developing individual characters he is then in turn able to comment on

---

[13] Frederick Sheldon, "The American Colony In France," The American, ed. James Tuttleton (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1978), 358.

[14] James, The American, 359.

a particular society. Accordingly, when discussing the works of James, I will often refer to one of his characters as possessing "Americanness" or "Europeanness." By doing so, I will be acknowledging James' technique of presenting specific characters with their peculiar habits, ideas and prejudices in order to describe, in a larger sense, the national character of the country which they represent.

By entitling his novel The American, James indicates that he will be focusing on all that being an American entails. And in fact, by the end of the first five pages the reader is introduced to the manner in which an American traveller of the late Nineteenth century would dress and how he would think. More important, however, to the "international theme" is the way in which he would interact with Europeans. Here, I would like to examine the ways in which James develops throughout the novel these themes that he established in the first pages. Moreover, I will then try to compare and contrast these themes with similar themes in other "international" stories.

The basic structural difference of The American with respect to the other "international" works is that the principal American character is male. For James there is a definite difference between the male and female point of view. Since most of the story is told from the point of view of the protagonist, it is important to realize that all events will be filtered through a man's sensibilities,

emotions, feelings, and thoughts. Simply stated, the difference between the two viewpoints for James is that a male represents strength and invulnerability while a women represents innocence and vulnerability. James is not so chauvinistic as to deny that there are female traits within males and male traits within females. However, he does suggests that there is a difference in perspective and hence a difference in reaction and feelings according to sex.

For James to write a story from the male point of view is an anomaly. The only other major works dealing with the international incident and involving a male protagonist are Roderick Hudson and The Ambassadors. James' first novel written from this point of view, Roderick Hudson was published in 1876 while his last one, The Ambassadors was published in 1903. Over this span of time, he wrote prolifically about the American in Europe. However, many critics agree that his benchmark story about the "international" scene was The American, published in 1877 at the very beginning of this phase of his writing.

The book opens with Christopher Newman, an American later discovered to be James' protagonist, sitting in the Louvre in Paris. Newman is fatigued from his endeavors to see all the pictures in this extensive museum and is trying to catch his breath. He becomes distracted by Niobe, a beautiful young French copyist who is painting a

rather poor version of one of the hanging masterpieces. Newman engages her in conversation, ostensibly in order to buy the copy. It is in this first scene that James presents many of the themes that he will develop as the novel progresses.

James uses Newman as the hub about which all the events in the novel revolve. In the preface to the work, James says in regards to Newman that he wanted to give "the effect through him to the novel of a center."[15] From the start James emphasizes the importance of Newman being American. Throughout the first five pages James interrupts his description of the action to point out how Newman is acting like a typical American in a particular scene. When Newman is in the Louvre, James says that for "an observer with anything of an eye for local types," he would have stuck out from the other tourists in the Louvre. There is something distinctly American in Newman's appearance. Moreover, James suggests that such an observer would also have noticed "the almost ideal completeness with which [Newman] filled out the mould of his race." Thus, James is stressing that Newman is not just a typical American but,

---

[15] Oscar Cargill, "A Surge Of Patriotic Indignation," The American, ed. James Tuttleton (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1978), 433.

in fact, "the superlative American."[16]

In the early part of the novel James depicts Newman as the "typical" American in America. Newman had been living what "was an intensely Western story" (p. 25). James is alluding to a romantic way of life glamorized in the old West where a hero would conquer the frontier by hard work and toil and the Indians by determination and bravery. However, Newman brings more to the Western story than just the cowboy image. He also incorporates the features of the East-coast hero, a figure made famous by the likes of Ben Franklin. Newman states that, like Franklin, he began with nothing and eventually built an expansive and profitable business. Hence, Newman represents both facets of the American hero: the rough and tough cowboy and the shrewd but wealthy East-coast entrepreneur. This comparison with Franklin also calls to mind the fact that Ben Franklin was America's first real ambassador to Europe. This is, in fact, an association that many of the European aristocracy of the time made. One aristocrat with whom Newman later has contact states that the only other interaction he has had with Americans was with Dr. Franklin. Thus, by combining the two sides of the American hero in one character, James is implying that Newman has the potential to be as great an

---

[16] Henry James, The American (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), 2. (All further citations from The American refer to this edition).

American as Buffalo Bill or Ben Franklin. Irving Howe agrees with this conclusion when he says that the "American type [or hero], usually taken to be a self-reliant, industrious, individualist, is conceived as a cross-breeding between two sectional types; the Western farm pioneer and the Northeastern businessman."[17]

For James, the one trait that both a Western and East-coast American hero must exude is that he must successfully overcome the various pitfalls and obstacles that await him in life. From his earliest childhood, Newman has worked hard for his money and has had to endure the roller coaster of success and failure with its many ups and downs. At different times in life, that is, he has suffered the pains of poverty as well as enjoyed the spoils of wealth. However, since he is James' American hero, he persevered through the more dismal times to take advantage of opportunity when it came his way. He chose the business world as his arena and was, James suggests, one of the most successful men of his time.

When looking at James' description of the opening scene of the novel, moreover, most readers would be aware that something is wrong in the Louvre. This becomes obvious when James describes Newman as a man who is "long, lean, and muscular" but who has been left "vague with weariness"

---

[17] Howe, 443.

because of his "quiet stroll through the Louvre" (p. 1). At first glance, it does not seem right that a physically fit male would be taxed by a walk through the Louvre. However, it is pointed out that it is his desire to see "all the pictures to which an asterisk was affixed" in his guidebook that has left him with an "aesthetic headache" (p. 2).

Thus, there are two reasons for Newman's fatigue. First, he has been true to his American nature by trying to see and absorb the entire gamut of world masterpieces displayed in the Louvre in one visit, a task to which a normal European would dedicate an entire lifetime. Second, and more importantly, Newman is lost in this new environment. He has had no experience with art and finds the whole museum befuddling.

Thus, it is in this scene that James establishes what I call the "Jamesian Imperative" that is the common motivational link between most of James' American characters. The imperative is divided into two parts: a quantitative goal and a qualitative goal. In other words, when an American journeys to Europe he or she usually has two objectives. First, he wants to try to absorb all that Europe has to offer. Second, he wants to understand and appreciate what he is absorbing so that eventually Europeans will accept him into their society.

At this point I wish to expand my focus out from

the first scene to show how James' ideas and theories are developed throughout the rest of the novel. I will do so by presenting different examples of James' technique that help explain the "Jamesian Imperative." Throughout The American, Newman's actions embody this principle of the "Jamesian Imperative." For example, when Newman looks at the masterpieces hanging before him in the Louvre he is not able to appreciate fully their artistic value. He has had to rely upon his Baedeker in order even to begin charting a course through the many museums of the Louvre. Even with the aid of a guide book he is still not able to discern the subtle details that separate one work from another. In fact, he admits that he "had often admired the copy much more than the original" (p. 2). This reinforces the idea that when Americans first come to Europe, they have no understanding of what they are seeing or experiencing. However, they display an intense desire to see everything, hoping one to day to understand and appreciate what they are seeing.

According to James, the key to being able to achieve these goals is an acceptance of personal change. In fact, there is no way for an American to be really able to understand and appreciate what Europe has to offer unless he goes through some sort of metamorphosis. To offer an early generalization, in James' view an American tends to be naive and innocent about many aspects of life whereas the

European, on the other hand, tends to be more erudite in the ways of the world. Thus, if an American is going to understand Europe, he must become like the Europeans and sacrifice some of his innocence. For James, characters who do this become what most critics refer to as examples of his "Europeanized Americans." I will discuss this particular type of character in more detail below. At this point I need to make the point that Newman will never be able to fully understand or be accepted by Europe because he can never change his fundamental nature.

It is because Americans are unable to recognize that both their qualitative and quantitative goals are oversimplified ideals that they become trapped by their desire to achieve unrealistic goals. For example, Newman seems to think that by venturing to Europe and literally running around to see all of the different sights suggested by the guide, he will somehow acquire taste and refinement. Mrs. Tristram, an American who has spent enough time in Europe to have matured in her understanding of high culture (and one of the first examples of a "Europeanized American" in James' fiction), states that Newman reminds her "of the heroes of the French romantic poets, Rolla and Fortunio and all those other insatiable gentlemen for whom nothing in this world was handsome enough" (p. 51). It is indicative of Newman's own growing maturity when, later in the novel, he realizes that "over here [in Europe] one's point of view

gets shifted round considerably" (p. 117). He must come to terms with the fact that he may never be able to achieve both of his goals.

Newman's pursuit of a wife is another example where James shows how Newman's idealism is inseparably linked with his oversimplified quantitative and qualitative goals. Being idealistic, Newman thinks that he can find the perfect woman if he only dedicates enough time to such an endeavour. He feels that he has thoroughly combed America in search of a wife and now, among other reasons, has come to Europe to find a wife. Hence, he is ready to explore all of Europe to find one. After travelling through much of Europe, he arrives in Paris where he meets Claire de Bellegarde--whom he finds to represent the epitome of womankind. It is his fixation with her that leads him blundering into many adventures during his courtship, always blinded by his own ignorant idealism. He wants to be accepted by both her and the society that she represents. In the end, he is not able to understand why the Europeans deem him unfit as a suitor.

Because Newman is not able to achieve his goals without compromising himself, he eventually loses faith in himself and his way of life. It is what we might nowadays call a Catch-22. Newman believes in his American morals and principles. However, he will never understand or be accepted by Europeans until he changes his morals and

principles. Consequently, he is trapped. He will never be able to accomplish what he wants--and for him, as an American, this is unthinkable. In America when he chose to become involved in a business deal he would usually meet with success. However, he must now accept that in Europe he does not know how to play the game and he will have to reconcile himself to his losses. This is too much for him as an American to bear, and he shuts himself off from the world. He becomes a person who is not living but just existing. Life no longer holds any meaning for him now that he is not able to achieve the goals he has set out for himself.

In this section where Newman first encounters European society, James addresses another issue about American tendencies when travelling abroad. Europeans felt that Americans who travelled had an inexhaustible supply of money. Whenever Americans saw something they liked, they would assume that, first, the item was for sale and that, second, they would be able to pay the price. It must be noted that one justification for such behavior would be that a large percentage of Americans who traveled to Europe at this time were extremely wealthy. Nevertheless, the Europeans resented this attitude on the part of the Americans.

Newman exhibits this American tendency in several situations. When Newman first sees Niobe's copy in the

Louvre, he thinks it is for sale and asks how much. Niobe, the copyist, quotes a ridiculously high price, hoping to eventually work a deal that would still be highly favorable to her. However, she does not even have to work the deal, for as she suspected, Newman has no understanding of art and immediately agrees to her price. Any European who witnessed the exchange or learned of it later would be sure to see Newman's purchase as a frivolous waste of money. Even James suggests that Newman was "guilty of the damming fault of confounding the aspect of the artist with that of his work" (p. 4). However, James points out that Newman is not quite as naive as Niobe or other Europeans may think. Although he knows nothing about painting, when she first quotes her price, he knows it is an unreasonable amount. Newman, however, does not place the value on the painting but on the copyist who painted it. The fact that he likes the copyist as well as the copy is enough justification for him to pay an extremely high price.

Although much of the novel is narrated from Newman's point of view, James exploits his position of omniscient observer to reveal the European perspective of Americans. In a letter to William Howells, James says that he aspired "to write in such a way that it would be impossible for an outsider to say whether I am at a given moment an American writing about England or an Englishman

writing about America."[18] One example of this in The American is found when James first describes Newman. Here, James assumes the role of European observer. His initial description of Newman is focused on Newman's physical stature. Newman "appeared to possess that kind of health and strength which, when found in perfection, are the most impressive" (p. 4). It is as if the Europeans look at and determine the worth of an American as they would a horse or cow. To them Americans were considered physical brutes. The only physical development that Europeans approved of in a man was in the pursuit of sports. Newman, however, was "neither an oarsman, a rifleman nor a fencer" (p. 3). It is interesting to note that it is because Newman won his money through business that the Europeans eventually snub him. Initially, the Europeans conceive of Newman's success in America in terms of what represents success in their own society. Knowing that he is successful in America, therefore, they conclude that Newman must be a sort of king of the cowboys. As the duchess, the leading figure of the French old guard, surmises, he must be some benevolent ruler of a city he founded "some ten years ago in the great West, a city which contains to-day a half million of Inhabitants." She, like many of the other disillusioned Europeans, is convinced that "in three years...[Newman was] going to

---

[18] Lewis, 202.

become President of all the Americas" (p. 320). To the Europeans wealth, social class, and political power are all interrelated. They cannot understand democracy, the new form of government that exists in America. Before America became living proof that democracy could work, the world existed solely on the shoulders of a divided populace consisting of an established aristocracy and a subservient class. Understandably, the Europeans try to superimpose their values based on an established aristocracy on Newman and consequently are initially unable to comprehend his place in American society.

It is when the Europeans realize exactly what Newman is that they decide that he is unworthy of their company. Once they begin to realize that Newman was not an aristocrat by birth but was in fact from very humble beginnings, they realize that they will never be able to fully accept him for he is not of pure blood. It is also because Newman made his money through business that in the end the older relatives of the woman he wishes to marry undermine his marriage. For the Bellegardes to accept such a common man as a son-in-law would be to violate all of the underlying rules that govern class distinction.

The fact that James dedicates the whole first section to the description of Newman allows the reader to become acquainted with Newman and to gather an intimate understanding of the protagonist. It is not until Newman

meets Claire de Bellegarde and becomes involved with the established European society that James begins to comment on the Europeans. Throughout the novel, the reader is able to predict most of Newman's reactions to situations from the knowledge that he gained only in the first section. James' technique is like that of a scientist who has presented his control group, in this case Newman, as a subject to be observed during a series of tests. For James these tests take the form of encounters with Europeans. In every encounter the reader knows how the American is going to react and so is able to see how the experimental group, the Europeans, reacts.

Each specific encounter that Newman has affords James another opportunity to draw a distinction between the American and European natures. Even in Newman's first encounter in the Louvre with a young female copyist, it becomes apparent that Newman is more interested in observing the copyist than he is gazing at the paintings. As Mr. Tristram, another American, later points out, such a preoccupation would indicate the Americans' prejudice towards "the real thing." He says that they "don't care for inanimate canvas or for cold marble" (p. 22). Newman, as an American, initially feigns an interest in the art that Europe has to offer but he is easily distracted and falls back to his old ways.

After the initial introduction to Newman as a

character and his introduction to European society, James begins to delve into the complexities of Newman's character. The first indication that Newman is slightly different from the average American comes with the first glimpse into his past. His business took him around the country and once right before he came to Europe he was finalizing a deal in New York and came across a chance to seek revenge upon a man who "had once played off on [Newman] one of the clever meannessess" (p. 30). This opportunity with all of its implications cast Newman into a state of moral dilemma. Newman could have gotten back at an old enemy, but in doing so he would have had to compromise both his morality and business ethics. Finally, instead of taking advantage of the chance and the person, he has "the most extraordinary change of heart-[and develops] a mortal disgust for the whole proposition" (p. 31). Hence, Newman triumphed over temptation with his sense of self intact. This is the first indication that Newman places a higher value on being moral than almost anything else in life. Many other Americans would have chosen to take their revenge on an old enemy if given the chance.

Newman's scrupulous adherence to his moral code has several interesting ramifications. First of all, in making the decision to quit his business rather than hurt another person, Newman is able to see that there is more to life than making money. Secondly, his feeling of disgust

with business in America is one reason that prompts him to go to Europe "to get the best out of it [he] can. [He] wants to see all the great things and do what the best people do" (p. 29). Finally, he unrealistically thinks that cruelty and depravity exist only in America.

The moral center of the novel is a decision Newman must make as to whether or not to seek revenge on the Bellegarde family. From the first time he meets Claire de Bellegarde, he is convinced she is the perfect woman and he must have her hand in marriage. However, he is cruelly denied his request because the commonness of his background and business. After being cheated in this way by the Bellegardes, he comes to possess information that he believes would allow him to ruin the Bellegardes' reputation. Consequently, he once again goes through much moral tribulation over whether or not to destroy another human being for the sake of revenge. He rationalizes that the Bellegarde family has after all, caused him to lose "such a woman after taking such jubilant and triumphant possession of her" (p. 375), affronted his pride, and ruined his future happiness. In the end, he once again proves his worth as an individual and refrains from using the information to his advantage. Instead, he resigns himself to life without Claire as empty as it may seem. His action is vindicated by the fact that although he may not be of a high enough social level, he is far above these corrupt

aristocratic Europeans in personal development.

Another very American principle that James reveals in Newman is his faith in the equality of all men. The image that Mrs. Tristram, a Europeanized American, evokes when she describes Newman as "the great Western Barbarian, stepping forth in his innocence and might, gazing a while at this poor corrupt old world and swooping down on it" (p. 45) captures this belief. Newman is a man of the new world in which all men are created equal and in which each man has the same chance to make something of his life. It is because he feels that he has an equal claim to his share of the world's fortune that he is able to step forth armed with innocence and might to take on all of Europe. He feels his right to equality extends into financial, social and religious dealings. It is because he so adamantly believes in his right to equality that he is blind to the fact that inequality rules in Europe.

Unconscious of the mores that govern European financial, social and religious dealings, Newman commits one grievous faux pas after another. His first mistake comes in his encounter with Niobe, the copyist. When he first meets Niobe, he asks for her card and address. She responds, "Happily for you, you're a stranger of distinction" (p. 9). Otherwise, we conclude, she would have been affronted by such audacious behavior. Niobe feels that he has violated the rules of conversation by being forward and asking for

her card. However, she also recognizes that he comes from a higher social class than she, so she forgives him. The European aristocracy is not quite as forgiving when he violates social decorum. One example occurs when Newman meets the Duchess, "the greatest lady in all of Europe." He has just been introduced to her and she has called him the king of the cowboys by mistake. Unable to control himself, he laughs at her. But, by doing so he embarrasses her in front of all of the other aristocracy. This blunder is extremely costly.

It seems that Newman will never be able to understand all of the underlying structures and rules that support the European society and will forever suffer because of the consequences of his actions. One example of this would be the situation referred to above. The incident with the duchess takes place at a time when Newman is supposedly trying to make a good impression on the Bellegardes' friends at a party they give in his honor. His tactlessness not only embarrasses the Marquis, Claire's older brother, but also permanently marks Newman as a social misfit. Another example would be when he first meets the Marquis and is refused permission to see Claire. He has no idea of the Marquis' rank and even confides to Mrs. Tristram that he thought he was "the major domo" (p. 61) so consequently he does not give all the respect to the Marquis that he is due. The Marquis never forgets this and is one of the primary

opponents to Newman and Claire's marriage.

Newman's mistake of demanding equality in his courtship of Claire ultimately leads to his failure. The problem begins with his assumption that he can transcend any European social divisions. He feels that he, as a free-born American, has as much right as any member of the landed European gentry to pursue Claire's hand in marriage. He constantly violates the rules that govern the gestation of a relationship. The Bellegardes, being primarily motivated by greed, allow him to preserve his illusions for a while.

The Bellegardes realize their mistake and regret their decision to accept Newman as a suitor when Newman tries to force the natural course of events. The Europeans were accustomed to most marriages being arranged from birth without the participants' knowledge or consent. If a marriage were not pre-arranged, then there was most likely a lengthy courtship. This period of time provided a chance for the bride's family to observe the suitor and to decide whether the suitor was an appropriate match for their daughter. In his desire to get married, Newman violates these established customs by pressuring the Bellegardes for a decision well before they are prepared to make one. To him, the only real decision needs to be made by Claire; the family's acceptance of him is only a formality. He never fathoms the power of the family's influence on Claire's decision. It is his insensitivity to the way that things

are done in Europe that eventually leads to his loss of Claire and his personal happiness.

Newman's saving grace is that he does not continue to inflict his American ignorance on the European society. Newman begins to recognize his own ineptness and lack of understanding of European ways and sincerely looks for other sources to guide him. When in the Louvre, he relies on his Baedeker to make sense of all the paintings, for he knows he would be aesthetically lost without the guidebook. When he goes out to dine, he visits only cafes that are recommended by friends as a "must see" instead of blundering from one eatery to another. He realized that to become cultured he needed to find mentors who were willing to spend time helping him learn the ropes. Another example of his reliance on an outside source is when he picks out his apartment. He has to rely on the taste of the Tristrams, for he has no knowledge of interior decorating. Again, the Tristrams are Europeanized Americans who have over time become familiar with European ways, and it is to them that Newman turns for help and advice.

James points out that even in Newman's pursuit of the finer things in Europe, he tends to look at all that Europe has to offer without comprehending the deeper meaning and significance of what he is observing. For example, when he is walking through the Louvre, he never grasps how looking at paintings could be a spiritually moving

experience for those who know what to look for. He admits to himself that he is like a child in this new arena where "Raphael and Titan and Rubens were a new kind of arithmetic" (p. 2). He was a child that had to be taught the basics all over again. However, most Europeans expect more of a fully developed adult and offer only ridicule and scorn when he needs instruction and support. James points out that "there was something lugubriously comical in the way Newman's thoroughly contemporaneous optimism was confronted with this dusky old world" (p. 422).

In the last several pages I have been trying to present Newman's more complex nature in order to reveal James' comments on the American identity. As he is developing Newman and hence the American identity, James also begins to probe that of the Europeans. He accomplishes this task much in the same way as he does with his American identity, namely by using individual characters as representatives of the national persona. One difference between his treatment of the two, however, lies in the fact that James uses mainly one character, Newman, to represent the American. There are other Americans, all men, presented in the story including Mr. Tristram and the pastor--but they play such a minor role that they are not worth commenting on. However, when dealing with the European persona, James uses many individual characters. The result being that each of them develops a different facet of what I am calling the

European identity.

Most of the European characters in this book fall into one of two camps: they are either friends or enemies of Newman and thus either aid or inhibit his ambitions in Europe. These characters are clearly developed and their ambitions and reactions easily understood. However, the more interesting characters are the ones that do not belong to either side and actually vacillate between the two camps. They are more interesting because they are more realistic and have to be looked at more closely to be understood. In the end, James uses all of these characters to draw a distinction between stereotypical Americans and Europeans. One critic, James Tuttleton, says that it is

> in the quality of [Newman's] response to the de Bellegardes and of theirs to him, that James reveals the character of Newman and his antagonists and tests the values expressed in the manners of the two cultures they represent.[19]

Initially James sets Newman up as the protagonist and the older generation of Europeans as the antagonists. This distinction becomes evident through James' use of darkness imagery when describing the elder Bellegardes. (Here James is exploiting our association of darkness with evil.) Appropriately, it is during Newman's first meeting

---

[19] James Tuttleton, "Henry James: The Superstitious Valuation of Europe," The American, ed. James Tuttleton (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1978), 449.

with these people that James suggests that these people are dark in both appearance and manners. For example, when Newman lays eyes on the Bellegardes' house for the first time, James, the omniscient narrator, states,

> The house presents to the outer world a face as impassive and as suggestive of the concentration of privacy within as the blank walls of Eastern seraglios . . . The house to which he had been directed had a dark dusty, painted portal. . . It admitted him into a wide, graveled court, surrounded on three sides with closed windows. (p. 59).

This initial description of the living quarters of the aristocracy contributes to the evil image of the Bellegardes in several ways. First, it immediately sets such families apart from the rest of the world. More importantly, when Newman peers at the Bellegardes' mansion, he immediately compares it to an Eastern seraglio. The details he notices lead him to think that the private world of the Bellegardes seems dark and decaying, whereas the Eastern seraglio seemed alive and vibrant. Second, there is the suggestion that it is the house, representative of the social circle, that admits Newman into its darkness. It seems that Newman, the American, was destined to stumble on the darker side of the Europeans.

In the dark and decaying world of the Europeans, James distinguishes between the older generation and the younger generation. The older, more refined aristocracy, is cast in the role of the more tradition-bound and corrupt

branch, while the younger generation demonstrates an urge to break free of the restrictions placed on them at birth. Logically, it is the older generation that engages Newman in direct conflict from the outset. When Newman first calls upon Claire at the Bellegardes' house, he is refused admittance seemingly because he spoke English and wrote "San Francisco" as his place of residence on his calling card. In fact, the Marquis de Bellegarde, the head of the house who had received Newman, immediately determined he was American and consequently thought him unworthy of seeing his sister Claire. When Newman returns a second time and is admitted, it is once again the Marquis who rebukes Newman and his Americanness by not offering his hand when introduced. Understandably, Newman begins to harbor a great dislike for the Marquis and all that he represents. As the story unfolds Newman realizes that "in America 'growing men' had old heads and young hearts, or at least young morals: here they had young heads and very aged hearts, morals the most grizzled and wrinkled" (p. 134).

It is the Marquis who stands as the primary representative and defender of the older generation's way of life. An interesting twist to the story is that in reality he is only the titular head of the family. This becomes clear when he encounters a difficult situation and has to rely on the Countess, his mother and the real force behind the family, to make a decision. The most obvious example of

the Marquis' weakness and lack of power is when Newman approaches the Marquis and the Countess towards the end of the novel and reveals to them that he is aware of the family secret, the same situation presented earlier when I was addressing Newman and his value of morality. To the Bellegardes he says that he is thinking about exposing their guilt to the world if they do not allow him to marry Claire. This reality of what Newman's revelation would do to his family's honor and position in society leaves Marquis dumb, unable to speak or act. It is only the Countess who is able to maintain a semblance of control and who withholds from Newman both the reaction and result he has desired. She is made of iron and is willing to call Newman's bluff. Finally, Newman decided not to reveal the secret and thus the Countess seems victorious.

James has cast the Countess as the supreme embodiment of evil in the elitist world. Newman becomes aware of her internal strength the very first time that he meets her. After being introduced, Newman notes that she is "a formidable, inscrutable little woman" (p. 182) and that "her world's the world of things immutably decreed" (p. 183). She stands as the opposite of everything that Newman represents. And it is after such insights that he realizes that not only is she a strong woman but she will prove to be a worthy adversary for Newman. In the end it is she who decides for the rest of the family that they will never be

able to accept Newman in their tightly knit world and thus vanquishes him and his ambition.

The degree of her depravity is revealed when she compromises the one principle that she professes belief in, the right and privilege of an elitist aristocracy. She considers Newman beneath her and plans to reject him as a suitor. This is until he whispers to her how much he is worth and how much money he can bring to the Bellegardes' depleting fortune. She in turn, realizing how desperate their situation is due to their depleted family wealth, basically consents to sell her daughter so that she can maintain her family's social status. She is able to accept this until she has to present her peers with the reality of the other side of the bargain, her acceptance of Newman as a son-in-law. It is when she is being escorted by Newman during her party that she begins to fathom the degree of humiliation that she will have to endure because of admitting him into their family. She finally realizes that "We [implying all of the aristocracy] can't reconcile ourselves to a commercial person" (p. 371). This leads her to change her mind about the acceptability of Newman as a suitor and exert her power as the head of the family to break their engagement. Interestingly enough James said in an article he wrote after The American that after further consideration he thought that the "Bellegardes would

positively have jumped"[20] at the chance to use Newman for his money. However, since the denial of Newman sets up the moral climax in this novel, I will assume that the Bellegardes in this case would have refused Newman as a suitor.

The Countess reveals how conniving she can be in the way in which she breaks her promise to Newman and tries to dismiss Newman as her son-in-law. When she first accepted Newman's request to marry Claire she also promised not to "interfere." Her word choice is important because she later distorts the meaning of the word "interfere" to justify her actions. After the party when she realizes that she will not be able to live with Newman as a member of the family she begins to plot how she is going to default on her promise to Newman. She finally decided not to "interfere" with their marriage but instead uses her authority to command Claire not to marry Newman. To Newman it seems that by using her authority she has in fact interfered. However, she justifies her action because she says that they had not interfered with Newman's initial ambition to seek Claire's hand but it was "at a later stage of the affair, and on quite a different basis, as it were, that [they] determined to speak" (p. 368) against Newman. Newman had assumed that when the Bellegardes said that they would not interfere it

[20] Howe, 442.

meant that they would not interfere in any stage of his courtship and ensuing marriage. However, the Countess, being the conniving, scheming woman she is, draws a fine line of distinction between not interfering with Newman's initial ambition and the later phases of their courtship. As the head of the family there was no way that she would have surrendered total power and influence to someone else.

As Newman unravels the mystery surrounding the Bellegardes, he also reveals the depth to which Madame de Bellegarde's selfish ambitions have driven her. After having his engagement nullified, Newman dedicates the rest of his life to regaining Claire's hand. During his pursuit, he discovers the dark secret that the Bellegardes have been guarding for many years and goes through the ensuing moral crisis. For after discovering this secret he entertains the prospect of blackmailing them with this knowledge.

It is in his unraveling of the facts concerning this secret that Newman begins to understand just how evil and merciless Madame de Bellegarde really is. She had wanted her daughter to marry an old and very rich man so that the Countess would have access to his money. However, when the Count was alive he did not favor the marriage and the Countess knew that she would never be able to get her wish in the face of his opposition. Luckily for her, during this time of debate over Claire's marriage the Count becomes ill. So, instead of pleading her point, the Countess takes

advantage of his illness and poisons him. Because she was willing to kill her husband and marry her daughter for money in order to secure her own fortune, the countess stands as James' ultimate selfish, avaricious, scheming murderess. At the same time, however, it is also clear that for James she serves as the primary representative of the established European tradition.

In view of what the older generation has become, James suggest that the hope for Europe lies in the younger generation. The chief representatives of this generation are Valentine and Claire, for though they both come from an old world family, they believe in new world ideas and philosophies. Valentine sees through the falsities that surround the aristocratic way of life and becomes discontent. In his social circle, young men are not required to do anything but live the life of an aristocrat. In actuality this amounts to little more than existing from day to day with all the frills that money can buy. In fact he has been forbidden from pursuing any other way of life. He has a sincere desire to try to make something of himself, relying only on his own talents and not using his family money or influence to help him. However, since no aristocrat could understand his good intentions, they would assume that his working was indicative of the fact that his family had come to ruin and that they now had to support themselves through work. This was an embarrassment that the

Countess would not suffer, so she forbad him from working. It is because he is man of ambition who has been trapped by tradition that he holds "a moral grudge against family discipline" (p. 134).

It is through his friendship with Newman that Valentine reveals the difference between the younger and older generations of Europeans. One reason he befriends Newman is in retaliation against his family that has confined his ambition. He also is attracted by Newman's self-made success and conveys his interest in possibly running away to America to get involved in business. Their friendship continues to grow with time and Valentine begins to depend on and trust Newman as an equal. It is because this bond of friendship develops that he is able to reveal more of himself to Newman. For example, Valentine is the only one to feel the guilt of his family even though he had no part in the murdering of his father, and it is to Newman that he reveals some of the details surrounding his father's death. He does this as a final act of contrition to cleanse his soul as well as to help Newman. On his deathbed he says, "I apologize for my family. For my mother. For my brother. For the name I was proud of" (p. 399).

Valentine is one of the few aristocrats who is willing to teach Newman about the aristocracy and in fact is the one who warns him from getting involved. One example of this among many is when he tells Newman that his family

"wanted [Newman's] money but they have given [him] up for an idea" (p. 377). The meaning behind his words is lost at this time on Newman, who is still so in love with Claire that he is not able to see the reality of the situation.

Valentine eventually is killed because he is not able to resolve his internal struggle over loyalty to his family and loyalty to his self. On one hand, he wants to give up his way of life and follow Newman to America to build his own life through an active pursuit of business. On the other hand, he cannot free himself from the influence of six hundred years of tradition that have been inbred in him and that forbid him from following such ambition. He feels pulled from both directions and for the most part is stuck in a state of inaction.

When Valentine does act, his actions tend to be rash and irresponsible, mostly because they are manifestations of his inner turmoil. One such example would be with his involvement with Niobe, the same copyist Newman first encountered. He finds her poverty and baseness attractive. He becomes obsessed with her and engages in a duel to defend her honor that costs him his life. It is ironic that an aristocrat would duel to defend the honor of a grisette. However, it is also indicative of the fact that Valentine represents a new generation. He sees the value in a commoner's life. He is willing to defend her honor as if she were an aristocrat herself. Hence, right before his

death he was coming to terms with the idea of equality. In the end, he was killed by the traditions that he was trying to escape. It is through Valentine that James suggests that there may be no escape for members of the aristocracy.

Claire is another character who is caught between personal aspirations and tradition. Before meeting Newman, she had resigned herself to the fact that she would be a widow the rest of her life. However, when Newman meets her, he is able to kindle the flame of love that she has never felt before. In the awakening passion and power of her love she desires nothing more than to marry him and escape all of the inhibiting restrictions of being a Bellegarde. However, she cannot refuse her mother who has commanded her not to marry Newman, for to do so would be to rip her self-identity apart. Caught in this conflict she says: "I'm too proud to be honest, I'm not too proud to be faithless" (p. 411). Therefore, not being able to resolve her inner turmoil, she chooses to escape making a decision by joining a convent and effectively cutting herself off from the rest of the world.

Claire's character and actions have been much criticized by subsequent commentators. In his article "A Surge Of Patriotic Indignation" Oscar Cargill says that "James' greatest failure in the book is not to acquaint his

reader thoroughly with his heroine."[21] Hence, it is hard for the reader to understand or empathize with Claire. With regards to Claire's rejection of Newman, Marie De Bovet , a nineteenth century critic, challenged the verisimilitude of The American on this point. She writes: "It is incredible that Madame de Cintre (Claire) should have been prevented by her mother from marrying the man she loved."[22] The modern critic Irving Howe agrees with this conclusion. He says that "Claire's readiness to renounce Newman, though vaguely explicable in terms of the French family tradition, is unsatisfactory."[23] He does say that one reason for this may be that times have changed. For the modern audience "it is harder to appreciate a woman's renunciation of love in the name of family loyalty than it [would be] for the readers of The American when it appeared in 1876."[24] James' only defense was that "to have permitted the marriage of Claire and Newman would have been to pander to the sentimentality of an audience brought up on [writers like] Maria Cummins."[25]

---

[21] Cargill, 436.

[22] Quoted by Cargill, 436.

[23] Howe, 445.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Tuttleton, 456.

As it was in Newman's case, James reveals through Claire and Valentine's interactions with other people the differences between being American and European. He does this to show that there is not one instance where the American perspective is exactly like the European perspective. To call upon one of the many examples that have already been addressed: Newman's wealth is viewed in two totally different lights depending on what side of the ocean one is from. For an American, Newman is the epitome of success. He has worked himself up from nothing and has used only his own gifts and talents to gain everything that he has today. For a European, to earn money in such a way is base and common. The only acceptable way to come into money is to inherit a fortune.

Many of the other examples that I have highlighted illustrate the different ways in which the two types of people deal with other people. In their encounters with each other and foreigners, the older generation of Europeans are selfish, greedy, conniving, and manipulating. They tend to use everybody they meet to further their own ambitions. It is as if James wanted to portray the older generation of Europeans as embodying all the vices of the world. By contrast, Newman is magnanimous, generous, and trusting in his dealings with other people. He looks for the good in other people and is willing to work with them to work out mutually beneficial deals. Yet it is clear that James is

not saying that Americans are good and Europeans are bad. He knows that the problem is much more complex than that.

I think it is James' differentiation between the two generations of Europeans as well as his development of Newman's own personal moral dilemma that save this book from being too mechanical in its development and resolution. If the older generation is the evil empire, then the younger generation is the hope of Europe. They are able to see that the traditions and ideas of the older generation are somewhat antiquated. It takes young men like Valentine to begin exploring new ways of life. Thus, James is not condemning all of Europe but only those Europeans who refuse to live in a modern age. Through the older generation represented by the Bellegardes he confirms that the old world is full of death and decay. If the Europeans are going to be able to survive, James implies that they need to be able to let go of their outmoded traditions and grasp the challenge of living in a modern age.

James humanizes Newman by showing the moral tribulation that he goes through in determining what course of action he should choose. Throughout the entire novel there is the sense that Newman could do no wrong other than committing an occasional social faux pas. His laughing at the Duchess, "the greatest lady in all of France," during the Bellegardes party seems inconsequential and insignificant. He did not mean for his laugh to be

malicious or belittling. Instead, he thought that the Duchess' mistake was sincerely humorous and he could not restrain his joviality. It is only after his good nature and best intentions have been rebuked by the Europeans that he realizes that if he is going to get what he wants then he will have to play by the Europeans' rules. After gaining possession of information that would ruin the Bellegardes reputation, he began to examine different courses of action. He realized that if he had chosen to take advantage of the information, he would have been acting out of selfish desire and greed. However, in the end, he chooses not to press his advantage, thus vindicating himself and his Americanness. The humanization of Newman combined with the development of the younger generation of Europeans saves The American from becoming too trite in its character portrayal.

I will now turn my focus from The American to James' other works and try to show a connection between them in his development of the American character. In The American, James presented and analyzed in one work many of the differences he thought existed between Americans and Europeans. The American was his first major accomplishment in this new sub-genre, the international novel that he was exploring and developing. In addition to presenting the international theme, The American also marks a major accomplishment for James in his understanding and presentation of the American identity. By the end of this

novel, he had delineated a "national type" that he would continue to cultivate during the first part of his career.

After The American, James wrote many other stories, novels and short stories concerned with the American identity and its relationship to the European identity. At this point, I am going to shift my focus from novels to several of his short stories. I do this for several reasons. As pointed out in the beginning of this paper, it was atypical for James to cast a male as the protagonist. In fact, he used a male protagonist in only two other books, Roderick Hudson and The Ambassadors. Perhaps this is because he came to the conclusion that he understood women better; and he was able to portray the way they encountered Europe more accurately than the way men did. Women would have a completely different European experience, only due to the fact that they were female. Thus, in order to present James' complete perspective on the American experience in Europe, it is necessary to look at the female experience as well as the male. It is for this reason that I turn to some of James' short stories, since they were the medium in which he presented many of his stories about women in Europe.

Since these were short works, James frequently tended to create only one-dimensional characters. I will attempt to show how James' earlier short stories develop different facets of the typical American female's experience

in Europe. In contrast to The American, where he used different characters to represent national types, James uses only one character in each of his short stories to represent a single facet of the total American female character. I will try to tie all of these characters from his short stories and what they represent into one picture of the American female. I then will combine this with the conclusions reached in my consideration of The American to present the Jamesian perspective of Americans in Europe.

The first short story that I will address is "Daisy Miller," published in 1878, one year after The American. Besides being one of James' most well known stories, "Daisy Miller" is also the best example of the young, innocent, American girl that James is so famous for depicting. The story's plot is very simple. It revolves around Daisy and her family on their trip to Europe, focusing on how Daisy is received by Europeans during her stay in Switzerland and in Italy.

For James, Daisy embodied the young innocent girl from America. Her name "Daisy Miller" is the first indication that she is a "type" character, one that is created solely for the purpose of representing an idea or philosophy. A real daisy is a prolific flower that symbolizes wildlife and freshness. When used as a name, it has very earthy and wholesome connotations and immediately labels the girl as being from the country. Daisy's last

name, Miller, emphasizes her working class roots. She does not come from the old established money families of the North East. In comparison, Daisy comes from a middle class background with a father who earned and saved instead of inheriting his fortune.

James dedicates most of his descriptive detail to portraying Daisy's innocent image. One example of this is that James makes her hometown Schenectady. Hence, James implies that Daisy does not represent a cultured girl from a big city who is completing her education by experiencing Europe. Daisy is an innocent naive girl from a small town who has come to Europe at the insistence of her parents. However, because she does not want to make this trip to Europe, she is never able to understand or appreciate the cultural value of the places she is visiting. James created Daisy as an example of what most Europeans perceived as the typical young American girl.

As has been seen in The American, James feels that being innocent also means being ignorant of established European social mores. In this story, James uses the other characters to illustrate how Daisy, being naive, blunders in one social situation after another. Winterbourne, the "Europeanized" American in this story, says: "She seemed to [Winterbourne], in all this, an extraordinary mixture of

innocence and crudity."[26] He knew that "it was impossible to regard her as a perfectly well conducted young lady; she was wanting in a certain indispensable delicacy" (p. 170). Merely as a result of being American, Daisy is unaware of the nuances of behavior that she should be abiding by while she is in Europe. To most people, it is understandable that Daisy would not be familiar with the social requirements of European high society when she comes from a middle class family and probably never has had the time or experiences to cultivate that "certain indispensable delicacy." Yet Europeans would never accept this as an excuse and would continue to look on her blunders with an unforgiving eye.

The interesting thing about Daisy is that she is self-righteous about her innocence. For example, when she is made aware of what her accepted social behavior should be, she chooses not to follow the guidelines. Instead, she continues to run around "doing her own thing" which includes unabashed flirting. Winterbourne, who has been infatuated with Daisy from the first time that he met her, sincerely cares for her and tries to warn her of impending trouble if she continues with her ways. He tells her: "When you deal with natives you must go by the custom of the place. Flirting is a purely American custom; it doesn't exist here"

---

[26] Henry James, "Daisy Miller," Daisy Miller and Other Stories, ed. Micheal Swan (New York: Penguin Books, 1963), 160. (All further citations from "Daisy Miller" refer to this edition).

(p. 179).

It is ironic that in the end, Daisy's failure to heed this advice results in her death. While in Geneva she flirts with everyone who will talk to her, much to Winterbourne's chagrin. When she travels to Rome, she continues with this practice attracting many young Italian lovers. If she had not been so insistent on carrying on with her Italian lover in the ruins by moonlight, she would probably never have caught malaria. She falls critically ill because of the malaria and ultimately dies because of the disease.

It is Daisy's honesty and frankness that sets her apart from a society which is riddled with deceit and hypocrisy. She is like all American girls in that she is independent in thought and action. When questioned about her frequent visits with young Europeans, she responds, "I have never allowed a gentleman to dictate to me, or to interfere with anything I do" (p. 169). She is unlike the European girls who at least pretend they need the support and approval of men. Daisy notes her consciousness and approval of this difference when she says, "I, thank goodness, I am not a young lady of this country. The young ladies of this country have a dreadfully poky time of it . . . I don't see why I should change my habits for them" (p. 178).

James uses "Daisy Miller" to describe a facet of

the American "innocent" different from which he delineated in The American. James depicted Newman as also being very innocent and naive when he first arrived in Europe. Yet, where Daisy would blame her naivete on the fact that she never had the opportunity to become educated, Newman would claim it was because he never had the time. He was always working trying to make money. Now that he has the time and financial freedom to do so, he can enjoy the benefits of the leisure class and learn about the more aesthetic pleasures in life. Newman, at least, has a passing interest in learning about Europe and the cultural education it offers.

Daisy, in contrast, has a completely different attitude about her objectives in going to Europe. Basically, she only wants to enjoy the society. Any attempt at educating her is wasted. The only value she sees in European aristocracy is that they have the time and money to do nothing but socialize. She was obviously a spoiled upper middle class girl who never had to do anything in her life but be sweet and cute. She has no desire to learn anything that Europe has to offer.

Yet Europeans lump all Americans into one group that they feel is only in Europe to have a good time. For the most part the Europeans resent those Americans who impose their needs and desires upon the inhabitants of a foreign country even though they are the guests in that country. Mrs. Costello, an established European, comments

that "[Americans] are hopelessly vulgar...They are bad enough to dislike, at any rate; and for thi' short life that is quite enough" (p. 162). It is too bad that the majority of American tourists were more like Daisy in their objectives than Newman, simply enjoying Europe and not trying to understand what it has to offer.

The greatest injustice is that European males, the dominant sex in their society, found something attractive about Daisy's innocence. The opinion that "American girls are the best girls" (p. 138) was perpetuated among many of the European men. For them, the American girls that toured Europe were like a breath of fresh air in their life. They thought of them as flowers that should be cultivated. This could be another reason why James names his female character "Daisy." Winterbourne says, " he had assented to the idea that she was 'common'; but ...was he simply getting used to her commonness?" (p. 158).

Newman's innocence was never found attractive by the Europeans. At best it was found amusing, and this was only by friends like Valentine. I think this difference lies in the difference of sex. Naive males were looked down on because somehow their innocence also implied weakness a trait unacceptable in men. Naive girls were warmly embraced because males felt it was their chivalrous duty to protect the weaker sex. James needed to present this difference in acceptance by Europeans in order to do justice to his

international theme of the Americans' experiences in Europe.

The last issue I would like briefly to address with respect to "Daisy Miller" is James' treatment of the Europeanized American. Winterbourne as a character is probably one of the best examples of the type in James' early fiction. As I will suggest below in my discussion of other stories, James seems to believe that if someone is born American, he will always have a sort of Americanness about him. Since Winterbourne has spent his entire life in Europe he has also developed a sensitivity to the European mentality. Thus, being born in America and living in Europe creates a juxtaposition in his character that allows him to sympathize with and clarify the differences between Americans and Europeans.

Winterbourne spends much of his time analyzing the difference between girls of both cultures. He was once told by a friend that "American women--the pretty ones . . . were at once the most exacting in the world and the least endowed with a sense of indebtedness" (p. 165). He recognizes this when he first meets Daisy and she looks at him with "a glance that was perfectly direct and unshrinking . . . the young girl's eyes were singularly honest and fresh" (p. 140). He can immediately tell that American girls have a certain self-confidence about them that they are not afraid to show to anyone they meet. After spending some time with

Daisy, he eventually surmises that Daisy "seemed to him an extraordinary mixture of innocence and crudity" (p. 161).

Thus, he is able to look at Daisy with the critical eye of a European but also with the understanding of being American. He can find fault with her, but is able to excuse these faults. In the end, he becomes attracted to Daisy with all of her faults. His aunt warns him about American girls, saying: "I really think that you had better not meddle with little American flirts that are uncultivated . . . You have lived too long out of the country" (p. 149). Yet despite this advice, he chooses to pursue her from Geneva to Rome. It is sensitivity to Daisy's Americanness that traps him and eventually breaks his heart.

As pointed out earlier, James uses these short stories to illustrate one particular facet of being American. "Daisy Miller" focuses on an American innocence embodied by Daisy herself. However, James also makes a point through characters like Winterbourne that there is a "danger of living too long abroad." For even these Europeanized Americans are awful examples of exile and ignorance, an ignorance in matters of the heart. Despite her innocence, Daisy lives her life in touch with her emotions and her heart's desires. Thus, if Daisy represents the peril of exerting American instincts in Europe, the others represent the peril of permanent uprootedness.

From this it becomes clear that no American,

regardless of how long he stays in Europe, will ever be accepted into its society. He will either be too innocent when he first arrives or he will become sterile with the time he spends in Europe. Thus, James is suggesting that there is something within the American character itself that is irreconcilable with the European environment.

In "Madame de Mauves," James' presupposition that being "American" or "European" is inherent from birth plays a major role. James argues that being born an American or a European is indicative of a certain predictable behavior. James likens this "Americanness" or "Europeanness" to other physical traits that by their very nature are impossible to remove without permanently altering one's character. Another aspect of this theory concerning the Europeanized Americans was first presented in "Daisy Miller." In both these stories, James implies that if a character tries to change his nature by becoming an expatriate, he will upset his natural balance and alienate himself from his identity.

As in all the works previously discussed, James uses characters as a means through which he expresses his opinions or addresses issues in regards to the development and distinction of national character types. In this story James presents three different types of characters. Madame de Mauves is the American protagonist who lives in Europe and suffers because of her "Americanness." Her husband and his sister represent the French old guard similar to the

type of people represented by the Bellegardes in The American in their corruption and depravity. As in The American, the Europeans in this story never understand or accept Mme de Mauves because of the difference in their two cultures. Finally, James presents another typically "Jamesian type" character, Mr. Longmore the Europeanized American. Longmore, like Winterbourne in "Daisy Miller," exhibits both European and American traits and is consequently able to sympathize with the American Mme de Mauves as well as with the Europeans. It is through these characters' development and interaction that James begins to distinguish between the two societies.

The plot of "Madame de Mauves" is quintessential James. It is centered around Mme de Mauves who has lived in Europe for most of her life and eventually marries a Frenchman. However, she is not able to adjust her ways to that of European society and remains forever on the periphery. Her husband is unfaithful to her and she becomes even more self-involved, cutting herself completely off from the outside world. Longmore, a fellow American, is the only one who is able to communicate with her during this period. He eventually falls in love with her, but she rejects him and retreats back into her self-isolation. The story ends with her husband reforming his ways and asking her forgiveness. Mme de Mauves refuses him forgiveness.

James intention in creating the character Madame

de Mauves was to show what happens when a character who is born in America spends her whole life in Europe. Thus, Madame de Mauves who has spent nineteen years of her twenty-one years in France was born in America to American parents. James implies that it is only because of the fact that she was born in America that she is never able to be completely assimilated into the European way of life. Though there are many little examples of what being distinctively American entails, her pristine moral code is her most obvious American trait. This is an interesting parallel to The American, in that it was Newman's adherence to a moral code that set him apart as an American. In "Madame de Mauves" case it is made obvious that this is a trait inherited from birth since, even after nineteen years, she still abides by a uniquely American moral code.

The way in which James develops this characteristic in Mme de Mauves parallels the way in which he developed the same trait with Christopher Newman. Both stories revolve around a transatlantic love affair that is destined to fail. In Madame de Mauves' case, Mrs. Draper (a character who has no value other than the information that she possesses) says: "It's the miserable story of an American girl, born to be neither a slave nor a toy, marrying a profligate Frenchman, who believes that a woman

must be one or the other."[27] Madame de Mauves is that American girl and Richard de Mauves is the man she married, a man who is unable to understand why Mme de Mauves cannot be like a French woman.

Her husband initially sees love as nothing more than a tool to further his own selfish political and financial ambitions. At the outset of their relationship, Madame de Mauves had no value to him other than the dowry she brought with her. Obviously, this is not a good foundation for any relationship and he soon loses interest. He eventually becomes attracted by and involved with a mistress. In his mind he is justified in his actions and expects Madame de Mauves to accept his affair. This is because in European society it was deemed acceptable for a man to have a mistress as well as for a woman to have a lover. It has been suggested that this is the result of the fact that most of the Continental marriages were prearranged. In Catholic countries, once two people were married they could not get a divorce merely because they were incompatible. Taking lovers offered them a way to avoid excommunication but still be able to satisfy their desires.

---

[27] Henry James, "Madam de Mauves," The Great Short Novels Of Henry James, ed. Philip Rahv (New York: Dial Press Inc., 1957), 11.

Mme de Mauves' first interest in her husband was also based upon delusions. While growing up, she came to recognize that there was a dissimilarity between being born an American and being born a European. She believed "that the best birth is the guaranty of an ideal delicacy of feeling"(p. 13). This belief led her to be fascinated by the European aristocracy almost to the point of idolatry. She was not able to see beyond the trimmings of their social class to determine their worth as a people before she became inextricably immersed in their world. But it was her fate to have been born American and thus never be able to be assimilated into their world.

The issue that brings Mme de Mauves' difference to light is her inability to accept her husband's extra-marital relations. Like Newman, she is appalled by the vileness of the Europeans, imbued as she was with the belief that adultery was a heinous crime against God. James describes this situation as that in which "some insidiously beguiled and betrayed, some cruelly wronged compatriot suffers at the hands of persons pretending to represent the highest possible civilization and to be of an order in every way superior to his own" (p. 4). It is the Europeans who think they have a refined sensitivity and look down on Americans for their crude ways. However, as it was shown in my discussions of Newman, somehow the Americans are vindicated in that they adhere to a higher moral code.

James implies that when faced with her husband's adulterous ways, it is only because of Madame de Mauves' inherent American morality that she is able to persevere. Once she realizes that she is a victim of the cruel European world, she decides to cease any further interaction with this world. She concludes that she will exist only to exist, seeking nothing or no one. In effect she builds a self-imposed prison that will keep out the reality of the vileness of the world she cannot escape.

She exists in this state until Longmore, the Europeanized American, forces his way into her world and presents her with a moral dilemma. Longmore is also an expatriate who has been living in Paris. Like most Americans in Europe, Longmore was lonely because of his inability to be accepted by the European society. Thus, he initially sought out Madame de Mauves because of the common bonds they share as expatriates. However, he eventually falls in love with her and offers her a chance to escape Richard de Mauves and all he represents.

Madame de Mauves is an American by nature and cannot compromise the principles she believes in. She does not allow herself to succumb to his advances, others' suggestions, or her own heart's desire. She believes that when she made her marriage vow she made an eternal commitment. Therefore, when she starts to realize that she is compromising her commitment to her husband, she sends

Longmore away forever saying, "I begged this visit should be your last" (p. 73). At this instant Longmore begins to fully comprehend the strength of her moral integrity and describes "as a creature who never has existed-who never can exist" (p. 74).

Both Newman and Madame de Mauves act according to their belief that there is a higher moral code that governs human beings' actions. James suggests that this value is a characteristic trait of being born an American. Newman's morality is developed throughout The American. By its end, there has been a natural tracing of his behavior that leads the reader to believe that he will not respond in any other way than in accordance with his principles. For Mme de Mauves, things are not quite so clear. James has only given a short glimpse into her life. He does not give the background details or create enough encounters so that the reader can become familiar with her different reactions to situations. Thus, it is more due to the fact that there are no other possible reasons for her action of rejecting her husband's plea for forgiveness that the reader must assume Mme de Mauves action was the result of her American moral code.

As I have done in my discussion of the other works by James, I will now turn from the American character to discuss James' presentation of the Europeans. In this story, Richard de Mauves' sister, Madame Clairin, typifies

the European elitist and self-preserving attitude. For example, when comparing herself to Madame de Mauves she says: "We're as history has made us, and if any one is to change, it had better be Madame de Mauves" (p. 57). This quote illustrates several points that are found throughout most of James' stories. First, the European identity is built upon a history of tradition, as the Bellegardes pointed out in The American. The quote also suggests that because their identity has a "history" it is a more appropriate or a more refined quality than the identity of the Americans. This attitude was found in the European representatives in both "Daisy Miller" and The American. Finally, this quote makes clear the European intolerance of Americans. Madame Clairin, speaking for the rest of the European society, sees herself as superior and feels that the Americans should conform to the European established values.

Longmore is an example of the Europeanized American that James so often uses as an intermediary between the two cultures. James suggests that since Longmore was also born an American he too has certain inherent American personality traits. The difference is that Longmore has compromised these values in some way in order to try to absorb European values. As in "Daisy Miller" James shows that this creates a conflict within the person. Whereas Madame de Mauve never compromised herself and always

remained true to her nature, Longmore, not understanding his true nature, succumbed to the influences of the European world. This resulted in his becoming trapped by two different idealogies. Because he was American he could not fully believe in the European way of doing things. However, because he has tried to live like a European at the expense of compromising his inherent moral code, he will never be able to reattain the innocence he forsook.

James suggests that such Europeanized Americans will remain caught between the two worlds. The Europeanized Americans, having been altered by their experiences in Europe, tend to snub their country and their countrymen because they can no longer empathize with or relate to the aura of innocence that surrounds all that is American. More importantly, the Europeanized Americans are never fully accepted by Europeans. Men like Longmore would give anything to be accepted by Europeans. But they will never be able to offer the Europeans anything that can change their views. The Europeans will never be able to accept an American because of his Americanness.

Richard de Mauves, a representative of the European mentality, most accurately describes the peculiar place that Europeanized Americans occupy in Europe's society. When he is trying to convince Longmore to have an affair with his wife he says, "I hope you admire my candor, I wouldn't say all this to one of us" (p. 40). M. de Mauves

is acknowledging both Longmore's American birth and his European attitudes. He realizes that it is the fact that Longmore is American that his wife finds attractive. And if Longmore were a European, he would have no problem trying to convince him to have an affair with his wife. However, since Longmore is American, M. de Mauves has to take a different attitude when broaching the subject. Longmore realizes that M. de Mauves would never be able to discuss the subject of adultery with a newly-arrived Protestant American tourist. However, he feels that he is able to address the subject with Longmore because Longmore has been acclimated to European behavior. Hence, M. de Mauves acknowledges both that Longmore is not fully American and that he is also not fully European.

Thus, with "Madame de Mauves" James develops two closely related themes. First, he addresses through his presentation of Madame de Mauves the fact that being American is something that is part of a person's general personality. No matter how hard one tries, one will never be able to eradicate this from one's character. Through Longmore, he shows what happens when a person does try to deny his or her nature. In James' world, such expatriates are destined to live on the fringes of the European society, never being able to fully enter the main stream of European culture and never being able to return to the mainstream of American culture. Thus, I think James is suggesting that

Americans need to realize that they are different in that they are American and that they need to understand their difference when they interact with Europeans.

The American, "Daisy Miller," and "Madame de Mauves" are all stories in which James deals with an American and his or her experiences in Europe. There are many other examples of this type of work including the novels Portrait Of A Lady, The Ambassadors, The Wings Of The Dove, and the Golden Bowl, as well as such short stories like "Europe." Yet though these works add depth and complexity to the issues I have been raising here with some of James' early works, they do not fundamentally alter their main outlines. One work that does so in an important way is "The International Episode," a story that adds another dimension to the international theme.

"The International Episode" is an anomaly among the early short stories by Henry James. As already stated, most of James' earlier works focus on the American in Europe. With this short story as well as in his novel The Europeans, James has taken another tack completely. The first part of the plot deals with two Europeans and their journey to America. Even though in this section James is not quite as detailed in his development of the Europeans as he was in other stories, its value lies in the fact that here James presents the other side of the "international incident," the Europeans' experience in America.

James said on several occasions that he did not want to be criticized for favoring one national type over the other in his depiction of transatlantic relationships. As an artist he yearned to be an objective observer who recorded life as truly as possible, while still making a good story. "The International Episode" attests to his ability to catch the European as well as the American view of a transatlantic relationship.

One interesting aspect of this story is that the Europeans provide unique perspectives and opinions concerning Americans in America. Throughout the first part of the story, James follows the two Englishmen during their sojourn in America. These two Englishmen's adventures provide a medium through which James is able to capture the American reaction to European travelers. For example, on their arrival in America, the two Englishmen state that they are surprised that "with nothing but their national prestige and personal graces to recommend them, they were very well received."[28]

Through this statement James reveals several key insights into the American mentality. For example, he is intimating that most Americans have a natural curiosity regarding Europeans. I feel this interest stems from

---

[28] Henry James, "An International Episode," The Great Short Novels Of Henry James, ed. Philip Rahv (New York: Dial Press Inc., 1957), 153. (All further citations from "An International Episode" refer to this edition.)

several causes. First, many Americans have some sort of familial ties with Europe. Consequently, Americans have an affinity for and are willing to accept someone who, like themselves, has journeyed to the new land. Second, Americans tended to be fascinated with everything that was English and thus "looked at the young Englishmen with an air of animated sympathy and interest; [the Americans] smiled brightly and unanimously, at everything the visitors said"(p. 168). Thus, I think James intended this story with its depiction of Americans' acceptance of Europeans as a contrast to his other stories which depicted Europeans' rejection of Americans.

In this story James highlights the difference between the American work ethic and the European. James points out that the difference in work ethic is primarily based upon the lack of a hierarchial society in America. In America, most men work for their living; there is no hereditary aristocracy. James suggests that in America, even the wealthy work, if for no other reason than to increase their fortune.

In James' Europe the aristocracy did not have to work because they could live off of their family fortunes, amassed through generations. Bessie, the young American protagonist of the story, draws attention to this peculiar lifestyle when she says: "I didn't know you Englishmen ever did any work, in the upper classes"(p. 159). This is made

most obvious by the fact that it is the Englishmen who journey to America and are able to spend time at the beach with the American women. The American men cannot spare the time to get away from work and join their wives for a brief respite. Another example of James commenting on the Protestant work ethic and how it distinguishes America is in scenes like the one where Bessie says to the Englishmen "the gentlemen in America work too hard" (p. 171). This is ironic because Bessie is an American who makes a very English observation about American men in this regard. Accordingly, the Englishmen also comment that they cannot understand why Americans work so hard.

This difference between work ethics provides for an interesting plot development unique to this story. Since the American men are always working, the Englishmen (and hence the reader) never get a chance to encounter and critique the "American male." Instead, the Englishmen are sent to the beach to be entertained by wives and other young ladies. For this reason, "An International Episode" is like "Daisy Miller" and "Madame de Mauves": James wants to focus on the female point of view. Thus, James effectively manipulates the plot so that he is able to concentrate on the Europeans' interaction with American women without having to address the male point of view.

The second half of the story is very similar to the plot lines of both "Daisy Miller" and "Madame de

Mauves." The Englishmen return to Europe and resume their own lives after their pleasant stay with Bessie and her friends at the beach. After several months pass, Bessie decides to journey to Europe. Thus, the story seems to follow the very Jamesian plot line of a young innocent American girl and her adventures in Europe. Consequently, Bessie seems to fit the Daisy Miller "type"--an innocent young American who is destined to become intertwined with a great European personage.

What makes this story different. however, is that Bessie adds another dimension to the American innocence that Daisy Miller personified. First, Bessie is more cultivated and socially entrenched than Daisy for she comes from Boston "old money." Bessie is described as being "more in the Boston style . . . and Boston girls, it was propounded, were more like English young ladies" (p. 173). James implies that it is because Boston girls tend to be intelligent and worldly that they are like English young ladies. Second, Bessie does not quite capture the "all-American" look that Daisy did. She has a more hardened and intelligent aura about her. These qualities combine with her other American qualities to make her almost more appealing to the reader than Daisy for she is better equipped to deal with the reality of Europe.

Bessie demonstrates a certain independence that protects her innocent nature from being taken advantage of

by the Europeans. This becomes clear in the second part of the story where Bessie and her mentor and guardian Mrs. Watergate visit Europe. At the outset of her visit, she expects to enjoy the same social privileges in London that she enjoyed in Newport. She says, "I like to associate with people on the same terms as I do in my own country; that's a peculiar taste I have" (p. 201). She does not understand or accept the distinction made between European and American girls.

When faced with the judgement of the Europeans, Bessie asserts her American independence. For example, Mrs. Watergate, a seasoned European traveller of Europe, tries to explain to Bessie "that there were two classes of American girls in Europe, those who walked about alone and those that did not" (p. 290). Thus, if Bessie wishes to be accepted by European society, then she must abide by its rules which dictate that a well-behaved girl does not walk about alone. However, Bessie refuses to sacrifice her freedom in order to be thought as "proper" by Europeans. Hence, she walks about alone when she so desires.

Her desire to be independent and be treated as an individual illustrates the difference between the way Americans treat Europeans and the way Europeans treat Americans in James. Americans will let people act the way they choose and usually reserve their judgement. For the most part, Americans are very tolerant of travellers who may

violate a social custom. Europeans, however, expect all people to act in an appropriate European manner and tend to snub those who refuse to conform. Lord Lambeth, one of the Englishmen who journeyed to America and whom Bessie calls upon when she travels to Europe indicates that there is a difference between the two societies. After returning to Europe he is able to claim that: "Newport is not London. At Newport he could do as he liked; but here it is another affair. He has to have an eye to consequences" (p. 192). However, Bessie, demonstrating her American, independent, self-righteous attitude, asserts that "it [is her] right, as a free-born American, to make as many mistakes as [she] chooses" (p. 199). I feel that James somehow approves of Bessie's affirmation of her independence through denial of European mores. By contrast, he criticizes Daisy for blundering in one social situation after another.

James clearly draws the difference between Bessie's innocence and Daisy's innocence in the way each deals with being snubbed by European society. For Bessie, it was a conscious decision to violate European mores and she is prepared to suffer the consequences. She asks: "Why should I suffer the restrictions of a society of which I enjoy none of the privileges?" (p. 191). As a result, she lives her life as she wants, violating the established mores of English society when they get in her way.

Daisy, on the other hand, never really understood

that she was being snubbed. She was concerned only with instant self-gratification. The only deliberation she had over the consequences of her actions was whether or not her involvement gave her pleasure. She was never aware of (nor cared to be made aware of) how a young girl should act in Europe. When her friend tells her that girls should not walk alone in the park she makes a flippant remark and joins her male companion. Thus, her conscious decision stems more from ignorance, whereas Bessie's conscious decision stems from a decided independence.

It is because Bessie embodies all the traits of an independent, free-spirited young lady that at the end of story she turns down the proposal of an old-world aristocrat. As pointed out earlier, Bessie establishes her independence of thought and action throughout the story. From the very beginning of the story, when she says "you must take us as we come with all of our imperfections on our heads" (p. 170) she makes her stand clear that she will not conform to others' expectations.

It is only when such an attitude is filtered through an Englishman's perspective that the modern reader begins to appreciate just how typically American Bessie was. Lord Lambeth first says that "She is awfully argumentative . . . She's so devilish positive" (p. 183). To me Bessie stands as an example of an early American feminist who demands equality in the world. Ironically, it is also this

American self-confidence that attracts Lord Lambeth, an old-world European, to her. After spending some time with her, he says, "I like her spirit. She's not afraid and she says things out and she thinks herself as good as anyone" (p. 214). This description would have pleased a feminist of the late 1970's but seems somewhat derogatory when it is applied to a young girl of the 1880's.

With Bessie's character I think James is suggesting that such revolutionary thought that people of today take for granted has always been part of the American spirit. One reason that Bessie may have rejected Lambeth's proposal is that to accep it would mean that she would have to accept the old world's double standard and give up her pursuit of personal liberation. This seems prophetic on James' part. In a larger sense he predicted what America would do as a nation. America, like Bessie, eventually rejects Europe's standards of behavior because if it were to compromise itself it would have to give up its pursuit of its own liberation.

Chapter Three: Gertrude Stein

After analyzing four of James' works on the international theme, I have concluded that the most significant aspect of being American for James is that once a person was born an American, he would never be able to completely eradicate the "Americanness" from his character. With regards to James' portrayal of Americans in Europe, it becomes clear that his characters' Americanness is their greatest strength as well as their greatest weakness. All of the stories that I have discussed emphasize this point. It seems that his protagonists all suffer at the hands of Europeans for being Americans. However, James implies that they are able to resist being completely corrupted by European society because they are American.

The America that James created in his stories was like a paradise in that it was inhabited by a population who was innocent and naive by nature. In contrast, the Europe that James created in his stories was like the land that Adam and Eve were banished to once they sinned. It is a place inhabited for the most part by cruel and corrupt Europeans that were trapped by their decaying traditions. I think James suggests that as long as the two societies stayed separate they could coexist. However, a problem

develops when a member of one society travels to the other society. For example, Americans who visited Europe and who stayed for an extended period of time were predestined to assimilate European culture.

Although this societal acclimatization would seem natural, I think James suggests that Americans become corrupted by the European influence. Such characters as Winterbourne and Longmore prove this point. They have chosen to become "Europeanized Americans," but in doing so they have become people who were caught between two worlds, the one of innocence and the one of corruption. Being altered through adoption of the European perspective, they would never again be able to return to America and its way of life. However, since they were at one time American they would also never be able to be totally integrated into European society. Thus, they are trapped by their situation and spend the rest of their lives in a state of limbo. James seems to be presenting these characters as a warning to all other Americans who may wish to become expatriates in a foreign country--even though this is precisely what he did himself.

The most dissatisfying aspect of James' works is that he never explains why the source of the disparity between the old and new world exists. His only explanation is based on a loose geographical and temporal distinction. Since Europe has been around for thousands of years it has

developed customs and traditions that have now become overpowering. Likewise, he suggests that since America is a relatively new country, the people live lives unhampered by two thousand years of tradition. Consequently, James implies that Americans are able to discover what it meant to really live life for themselves and not according to what was dictated to them by tradition and custom. Thus, he created American characters who exuded an almost effervescent innocence and a fresh "joie de vivre."

James was acknowledged for being one of the first authors to dedicate a large part of his work to the analysis of what he saw was a glaring difference between two cultures. He developed in his novels the distinguishing characteristics of Americans and Europeans. His theories were later corroborated by other authors who also thought that there were differences between being American and being European.

Among these authors, Gertrude Stein provides the most useful development of Henry James' theories. Stein is clearly not a follower of James style or technique. However, over the course of many years, she would come to many of the same conclusions about Americans and Europeans that Henry James did. The reason that I have chosen her over many other of her contemporaries who also discussed the differences between Americans and Europeans is because she takes James' arguments one step farther. William Troy, in

fact, asserts that in going one step further, "Gertrude Stein's writing represents that 'final division between experience and life' already foreshadowed by Melville, Poe, Hawthorne, and Henry James."[1] In doing so she establishes the basis for a revolution of American thought based on the newly discovered American identity.

Stein, like James, spent a large part of her life in Europe. She was born in Allegheny, Pennsylvania in 1874, two years before James published The American. However, her parents immediately moved to Europe and Stein spent her infancy in Vienna and Paris. After spending only a few years in Europe, her parents decided to return to America. This time, however, they decided to go to the West Coast. Consequently Stein spent the years before college in the San Francisco area. The fact that during her age the best colleges for women were on the East Coast influenced Gertrude to move back across the country to attend Radcliffe College in 1893.

Her unique approach to life can be traced back to the attitudes she cultivated about education when she was attending college. Although she did very well at Radcliffe, she chose not to take a degree. One charitable critic gives the following reason: "She was interested only

---

[1] Twentieth Century Authors, 1944 ed., s.v. "Stein, Gertrude."

in her studies and was bored by formal examinations."[2] She then went to Johns Hopkins where she studied medicine for four years but once again did not take a degree.

The most interesting connection between these two authors is to be found in the separate ways in which they reached their similar conclusions about the differences between Americans and Europeans. As I have already shown, Henry James created characters in his novels who embodied the theories he had developed and catalogued during his travels in Europe. Many of his characters and their lives illustrated what he thought it meant to be an American and how this differed from what it meant to be a European.

The most interesting aspect of James for my purpose is the way in which he goes about revealing his theories through these characters. In most of his novels dealing with the "international scene," he never explicitly states what it meant to be an American or what it meant to be a European. Instead, he left it up to the reader to infer his position. James only presents the characters and their interactions with each other. He tries to convince the reader indirectly that his perceptions are correct. For example, if he had come out and said Americans are morally good and Europeans are bad he would have been criticized for his prejudices. On the other hand, if he presented an

---

[2] Ibid., 1337.

American character that most people felt was representative of the typical American and then only related what happened to this American when he encountered European society, James would have effectively manipulated his audience. Most of his readers would draw the same conclusions that James intended. However, since the reader was the one drawing the conclusions, he would feel that they must be accurate and true.

In light of the difference between these two authors I, too, will take a different approach towards my analysis of Stein and her theory about the American in Europe. I will first try to unravel Stein's very complicated theory about what distinguishes Americans from Europeans. To accomplish this I will analyze several of her essays that treat this subject. I will then try to show how many of her theories in these books are based on themes similar to those in James. In the end I hope to be able to present the idea behind such a Steinian quote as:

> But to commence again with what English literature has done in telling everything and what American literature has done in telling everything and how although they completely differ one from the other and they use the same language to tell everything that can be happening it is naturally very naturally not at all the same thing.[3]

I will show how such a quote is both an example of her somewhat inaccessible style and a comment on the difference

---

[3] Gertrude Stein, Narration (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1935), 2.

between America and Europe. (As one critic remarked: "She has elected to write in a manner which much of the time makes her concrete meaning inaccessible to the reader.")[4] Furthermore, I hope to show that the reason the language is "naturally very naturally not at all the same thing" is because the two peoples are naturally very naturally not at all the same thing either.

The most important aspect of Stein's style is that it is a revolutionary and unique style. "As B.F. Skinner pointed out in 1934 'Gertrude Stein's writing was an example of the "new" work that placed 'its emphasis on abstraction.'"[5] Over the years she developed a style that was unlike any that had gone before. For example, at times she seems to ramble on and on, jumping from one subject to a completely different subject. Although it may seem disjointed to skip from one subject to the next in one piece, if one were to look at her works as a whole one could discover that she is actually touching upon many of the same subjects from work to work. As she points out, it would seem that the "simultaneous need for repetition [from work to work] and immediacy [within one work] would be an intractable contradiction."[6] However, I will prove later

---

[4] Twentieth Century Authors, 1337.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Gertrude Stein, Lectures In America (Boston: Beacon Press, 1935), xii.

that it is just this juxtaposition that stands as her greatest defense of her theory because of the unity it gives to her argument. Everything she wrote was interrelated. One sample work may be incomprehensible, but when it is viewed in its relation to her other novels it becomes more accessible. Americans in contrast tend to flow from moment to moment living each moment to its completeness but always aware that there is yet another moment to come. I will begin by discussing one of the subjects that acts as a unifying theme throughout Stein's early essays-- her concentration on the difference between Americans and the English. It seems that Stein became obsessed with showing how these two peoples who shared the same language could live such completely different lives. In Narration she states that "Americans and English use the same language but the Americans have not a daily living as any Englishman does and can have."[7] This quote leads the reader to believe that the difference between the two peoples is that Englishmen live a kind of "daily living," and that "one may say that in America there is no daily life at all."[8]

But what does this daily living and lack of daily living entail? Stein says that "in America, life goes on but not from minute to minute and each minute being filled

---

[7] Stein, Narration, 5.

[8] Ibid., 6.

full with it."[9] Consequently, we must conclude that Englishmen do live life from minute to minute. Moreover, for an Englishman, each minute is unique in that it is full of only what goes on in that particular minute. She later tries to clarify her notion of "daily living" when she says that "the daily life is a daily life if at any moment of the daily life the daily life is all there is of life."[10] This reiterates the idea addressed in the first quote: for the Englishman life exists from one moment to the next with each moment being complete. Consequently, for the English there is no spanning of moments. The only continuum in their lives is that for one particular Englishman there is one particular moment which he is living at that time.

The American, on the other hand, "lives his life [so] . . . that although he is alive . . . he does not in any way feel himself as living his daily life every moment of any day."[11] Stein concludes that the American lives in a continual state of transition from moment to moment. Whereas an Englishman would see a particular moment as containing all the meaning of life, the American would see the same moment as only one part of a life full of moments. For the American, every moment has been preceded by another

---

[9] Ibid., 5.

[10] Ibid., 10.

[11] Ibid., 9.

moment and will certainly be followed by yet another moment.

To illustrate my point I will refer to the following quotation: "They all move so much even when they stay still . . . moving they really know it as certain that they are not daily living in their daily living."[12] The logic behind the quote is as follows: all humans must live a daily life. That is, each person lives from day to day. However, there is a definite difference in the way that Americans and English approach their lives. The English, as shown before, lived their lives one moment to one moment without ever understanding how by living the present moment they could influence the next moment. In other words, they were preoccupied with the distinctness of each part of their lives: past, present and future. This tendency was reflected in their writing style. As Stein points out "they could not content themselves with a completed thing that is choosing a whole sentence because if a thing is a completed thing then it does not need explanation."[13]

I will try to clarify Stein's theory further by making a comparison to the difference between static and dynamic motion in the physical world. If an object is at rest, then it is static and it can be surmised that it will not move unless acted upon by a force. Similarly, an object

---

[12] Stein, Lectures, 11.

[13] Ibid., 43.

in motion would be termed dynamic and could be expected to remain in a state of motion unless acted upon by a force. The Englishmen are static in that they have no understanding of life as continual motion. The American, on the other hand, is dynamic and the idea of static living is as foreign to him as dynamic living is to the Englishman. Stein says that it is this characteristic tendency of the American to be more dynamic in his approach to living that makes him American. "They all move so much even when they stay still . . . In moving they really know it as certain that they are not daily living in their daily living."[14] Thus, it seems that in Stein's view Americans virtually vibrate with life.

Stein proposes that somehow Americans think of life as reaching into the future and that this realization allows Americans to have more of a direction when they live their daily life. Englishmen seem to be a people of non-action who accept what the future has in store for them with each new moment. They are not able to break free from their routine to see a higher purpose or direction for their lives. Americans, however, are more the masters of their fate. They are able to see how one moment links to the next and plan accordingly. Ergo, Englishmen live more in the present while Americans live more for the future.

---

[14] Stein, Narration, 11.

Stein feels that the reason for the difference in the way that Englishmen and Americans live their lives is both geographical and temporal. Thus, according to Stein, an American is different from a European both because of the location and because of the time period he is born in. At first, such a conclusion could seem outlandish. How could geography influence an Englishman to live a daily living when it would also influence an American not to live a daily living? She argues that there is a direct link between the English living a daily living and the fact that they live on an island. In Lectures in America she states that "on a continent the daily life is of course a daily life but it is not held in within as it is on an island."[15] Living on an island rather than a continent, the English lives each moment as if it is an island of a moment. In contrast, the American lives each moment as if it is a part of an expansive continuation of moments of existence that reaches forever. The Americans are as unhindered in their view of living as they are by the continent on which they live.

The English of the twentieth century also suffered from the fact that when they had ruled the world during their golden age, they had ruled it from an island. Stein says, "as they owned everything outside and brought none of this inside, they naturally were no longer interested in

---

[15] Stein, Lectures, 18.

choosing complete things."[16] As a people, they thought that their way of life was the only way of life. Even though they were the most expansive colonial power during the nineteenth century, Stein says they refused to adopt any of the ways or ideas of the people they conquered. They lived only the British part of the whole life when they could have taken advantage of what the rest of the world had to offer. For the English that Stein is describing, reality and the world were defined by the their island boundaries.

According to Stein, the English culture never progressed beyond their golden age in the nineteenth century. They had spent two thousand years on the same island. Over those years, they had developed traditions and customs to dictate peoples' behavior and actions. Eventually they conquered the world and imposed upon these people their traditions and customs. Once the British reached this plateau of civilization, it was this very lifestyle that led to their stagnation as a culture at the end of the nineteenth century. They rarely incorporated new ideas from the world around them, they only dug deeper and deeper into a rut of behavior codified for them by their past.

Stein says that the British subjects who freed themselves from their island confines and island mentality to move to America experienced a completely different way of

---

[16] Ibid., 33.

life. To the Americans, "nothing could be more completely not a daily island than the life the daily life of any American."[17] The Americans had the advantage of beginning a new life on a continent into which they could expand versus a confined island. When the British crossed the ocean, they came to realize that they only represented one part of the entire immigrant population. Thus, even though they brought their British old world ideas and customs with them when they arrived, over time they adopted an American way of life. This was a conglomeration of what all the different nationalities had to offer.

When these early British/Americans were first trying to establish a new way of life they were forced to look around themselves for meaning and reality. Instead of seeing the world bounded by oceans their gaze was met with an ever-continuing frontier. Stein said, in Lectures in America, that "on a continent even in small countries on a continent, the daily life is of course a daily life but it is not held in within as it is on an island."[18] These British/Americans, whom I will now refer to as Americans, began to live a daily life that was not held in. They explored their continent and the freedom that such a new beginning provided. I have concluded from Stein's argument

---

[17] Ibid., 46.

[18] Ibid., 18.

that there is something about being able to move through with daily life and not to hold it in but rather to celebrate it that makes it purely American.

Stein thought that there was only one other country in the world that was still able to experience a similar freedom: Spain. Spain had always been a land of wide open spaces. As the rest of Europe eventually became a country full of cities, Spain and America remained countries full of country. This distinction, Stein feels, is the reason why the rest of Europe began to stagnate while Spain and America were able to continue being reborn in the twentieth century. Within their expansive countries the Spaniards and Americans were able to freely live every day as part of a daily life.

Stein was not the first person to propose a theory of the American mentality based on a consideration of America's unique geographical position. In fact, the idea that American culture was different in the New World simply because it was a "new world" was hotly debated in the nineteenth century. One of the greatest proponents of this theory was not a fiction writer but rather an American historian named Frederick Jackson Turner. It is interesting to note that Stein said herself that "literature we may say is what goes on all the time history is what goes on from

time to time."[19] Thus, in order to clarify what was going on "from time to time" in the nineteenth century I will now digress from my original argument to present Turner's argument. I do this with the intention of showing how Frederick Jackson Turner captured in a historical sense many of the ideas that Stein broached in her literature. Moreover, both Stein and Turner develop the idea that in the early part of the century the American way of life was inextricably linked to the land they lived in.

Turner addressed this subject in 1893 in his famous essay on "The Significance Of The Frontier In American History." For the purpose of my argument I will quote at some length a summary of Turner's hypothesis by a modern day historian Allen Billington:

> The Europeans who founded the New World settlements in the seventeenth century . . . found themselves in an unfamiliar environment. In Europe and the East men were many and land was scarce; on the frontiers men were few and land was abundant. There the old laws governing compact societies no longer applied. Traditional techniques of production were unsuited to an environment where resources were more plentiful than manpower; innovation and experimentation became a way of life. Attachment to place diminished in a land where more attractive places lay ahead; mobility came to be a habit . . . cultural creativity lost its appeal to men burdened with the task of clearing a continent; materialism emerged as a desirable creed no less than an economic necessity. Leisure was nonexistent in frontier

---

[19] Stein, Narration, 4.

> communities; hard work became a persistent habit. Inherited titles seemed archaic and traditional class distinctions less meaningful in a land where a man's worth to society was judged by his own skill; a democratic social system with greater possibilities for upward mobility followed naturally. And most important of all, men found that the man-land ratio on the frontier provided so much opportunity for the individual to better himself that external controls were not necessary; individualism and political democracy were enshrined as their ideals. These were the traits which were revitalized over and over again as the frontier moved westward, eventually creating an American way of life and thought was distinct.[20]

Thus Turner, with his theory about "the way the West was won", suggests that the entire American way of life was based on the ever-continuing expansion of the frontier. For the first pioneers, the America they knew only reached as far as the Appalachian Mountains. For the pioneers, these mountains stood as very real and physical expressions of the obstacles that lay ahead in their journey to settle the wild land. However, these pioneers were not daunted, for they were impelled by the same desire that fueled the first pilgrims to cross a seemingly endless ocean. In the end, the settlers were able to conquer the mountains, then the prairies, deserts, rivers, and mountains that laid beyond until they finally reached the Pacific. Turner states that it was the frontiersman, the renegade, and the pioneer who

---

[20] Ray Billington, America's Frontier Heritage (Albuquerque: New Mexico UP, 1974), 10.

embodied the spirit of democracy and who established the very American way of life and looking at things.

In his analysis of Turner, Billington discusses many of the points that I am trying to present. Billington says that his first task was to attempt to identify the attitude and behavioral traits that were judged to be most distinctly 'American' by visitors from overseas."[21] Billington also believes that there was an inherent difference between Americans and Europeans. He refers to Turner's point that during the 1800's "the misconception that mankind has been cast in a common mold and that the institutions of one nation can be transplanted unchanged to another with a different cultural heritage"[22] was a common belief. He asserts that there was indeed a difference in being an American and being a European. Ultimately, this led to "American democracy differing from European."[23]

It seems to me that the best embodiment of this distinct American spirit can be found in the Constitution. It says that all men are guaranteed certain inalienable rights: life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. I think the American spirit is most evident in the phrase "the pursuit of happiness." The framers of the constitution did

---

[21] Ibid., vi.

[22] Ibid., v.

[23] Ibid., 120.

not write "life, liberty, and happiness." Instead the emphasis was placed on the "pursuit" of happiness. Americans have always been a people of process who have defined their happiness not in terms of money or land but in terms of the process it took to acquire such money and land. This idea was touched upon by Turner and had its culmination in Stein's writings.

Now I will return to my discussion of Stein by showing how Gertrude Stein's spirit can be seen as a direct descendent of that of Turner's frontiersmen. Throughout her life she "did her own thing" in her own way regardless of what other people thought or said. She was doomed to remain an outcast in a century that was still heavily influenced by British thought and tradition; as it was she found it necessary to spend virtually her entire life in France.

Many critics of today have recognized that there was something inherently American in the way she threw out two thousand years of Western European literary tradition in favor of her own style. Indeed, Stein's only justification for her "difficult" style was that she was writing as Americans should write. As she said in Lectures in America, "it is fundamental that is what the American writing is, it is not a daily life at all."[24] Hence, she felt that she had discovered a basic truth about what it means to be

---

[24] Stein, Lectures, 46.

American. Turner would have said that Stein was like the early frontiersman in that she found the "rules that governed compact societies [and their literature] no longer applied."

Both Stein's and Turner's theories try to "weld a set of demographic and historical facts into a meaningful pattern."[25] Both authors agree that the early Americans, being on a continent that was virtually boundless, were forced to question all the possibilities life had to offer and to establish meaning within this life. However, the two authors differ in their conclusions as to what that meaning was. For Turner the fact that the frontiersmen had an entire continent meant they had to explore the new land and conquer the wild. The meaning of life for these frontiersmen was defined and understandably limited by their everyday existence. Stein, on the other hand, felt that the freedom that comes with living on a continent allowed the Americans to think in completely new ways. Thus, by being American, she was not only allowed to but also expected to explore the language as if it were a new language.

Having presented and defined the similarities between Stein and Turner, I will now shift my focus back to Stein's distinction between Americans and Europeans. Up to this point I have been concentrating on Stein's geographical

---

[25] Billington, 10.

explanation for the development of a distinct American identity; now I will be focusing on her temporal explanation. According to Stein two successive civilizations, first British and then American, were the most prominent influence on world thought. The British experienced their golden age in the nineteenth century; American's golden age has been the twentieth century.

For Stein, as well as for many other historians, history can be divided into centuries. For few of them does the term "century" literally refer to one hundred years. Indeed for Stein it could vary from fifty to two hundred years, as when she says that "the twentieth century was made by America, as the nineteenth was made by England."[26] Here she is defining a century as the time period when a certain country was most influential. Historians do this as well, frequently using terms like "the nineteenth century" as a synonym for the later industrial revolution.

Nonetheless despite this similarity, it seems to me that in Stein's hands the notion of "century" became sort of a carte blanche for her to interpret and manipulate history so that it fit her theory. Moreover, I think the very nature of historical perspective lends itself to different interpretations that are the result of different perspectives. Therefore, when Stein says that one country

---

[26] Stein, Narration, vii.

influenced one "century" a more rigorous historian could easily point out many other things were happening in this time period that do not conform to her scheme. Despite this danger in Stein's theory, however, it does seem to contain a great deal of intuitive truth, and should still be taken seriously.

According to Stein, a century was usually dominated by one country or another. (This implies, of course, that within one country there was never a time when two opposing ideologies were coequal--another example of the lack of strict rigor in her argument.) Thus, England and its perspective had come to influence the world in the nineteenth century, whereas America with its new revolutionary perspective would eventually dominate world thought in the twentieth century. She said in Narration that "any nation's literature is a homogeneous thing, although in every century everything is different."[27] Consequently, in the nineteenth century America was influenced by England and in the twentieth century England had to accept America's influence.

As a result there was some slippage in the process of development. According to Stein, England was still living in the nineteenth century in the 1920's. At this time, the only country in the world that had entered the

---

[27] Ibid., 3.

twentieth century was America. It is for this reason that Stein reached the somewhat startling conclusion that America was the oldest country in the world since it had been the first one to encounter the twentieth century.

Another example of her creative use of the term "century" to indicate entire chains of development is her claim that "the civil war in America was another of about a century, seventeen sixty to eighteen sixty."[28] Most historians would say that the Civil War only lasted from 1861-1865. However, Stein thought that one had to trace a major historical event back to the earliest contributing events if one were going to be able to fully understand the meaning or significance of such an event. Thus, a major historical event like the American civil war had its real beginnings a hundred years before the actual war broke out.

As proposed earlier, this evolution of world thought from one century to the next parallels the rise and fall of an individual country's world influence. When England "ruled" the nineteenth century it also determined the way in which people perceived themselves in that century. Consequently, many other countries' cultures and ideas were influenced by the British during that century. An example of this is seen in the way the American literature of the nineteenth century struggled to avoid being merely a

---

[28] Ibid., 2.

diluted version of English literature. James and Stein may be seen as the culmination of an attempt to create a distinctly American literature, an attempt made by all of the major figures of the so-called American renaissance, among them Thoreau, Hawthorne, Melville, Poe and Whitman. As America gained influence in the world economy and politics this new American way of writing also started to influence not only what the world wrote and expressed in the twentieth century, but the way it wrote as well.

Stein felt that the literature of America was the new true literature. As one of the founders of this revolution in thought, she naturally defined many of the her ideas as reactions to the old established English way of looking at life, expressed in the manner their literature used description. According to Stein the English insular literature of the nineteenth century was "description simple concentrated description not of what happened nor what is thought nor what is dreamed but what exists and so makes the life the island life the daily island life."[29] In other words, it is because the English live on an island that their description is simple. Furthermore, it is because of the difference in the way that the English and the American lived their lives that they used the same words in such different ways. This quote also illustrates how Stein

---

[29] Stein, Lectures, 14.

defined her American way through what the British way was not. The British description was not of what happened nor what is thought nor what is dreamed. The new American way was.

For the Americans, Stein says that "the pressure of non-daily life living of the American nation has forced the words to have a different feeling of moving."[30] More simply, in America where life in the twentieth century was not daily living, the words meant one thing. In England, where life was lived one day at a time, the words had a different meaning. There is a definite pejorative judgement of the British by Stein in such quotes.

Another way in which the American and British styles differ stems from their diverging uses of explanation. Stein points out that it is in the nineteenth century that the English discovered explanation. However, by the end of the century, the English had become trapped by their discovery of explanation. Stein says, "with the explanation went emotional sentimental feeling because of course it had to be explained."[31] The English were unable to experience feelings. The system of explanation through writing was not able to encompass the realm of feeling. Stein says that the Americans were the ones to discover a

---

[30] Ibid., 10.

[31] Ibid., 40.

way of expression that was not limited to explanation but was free to just relate experiences and or feelings.

This need of the British to explain everything results from their failure to understand and live what Stein refers to as the continuous present, the present which is not limited to the present moment but encompasses past and future as well. The British recognized that they had a definite past. In fact the records of their past formed a tradition that was essential to their national identity. However, this preoccupation with the past also kept the British from truly realizing their potential for the future. As I explained above when I addressed the nature of daily living by the British, they were too preoccupied with the distinctness of each part of their lives--past, present, and future--to see how they all tied together.

The British needed to be able to explain moments that they had just lived so that they could put that moment in its place in their long history of moments. They were never able to let go of the moment and see that life was past, present, and future all in one moment. By contrast the Americans were not living a daily living because they lived and understood the continuous present and did not need to explain the present moment in relation to their history. For them, a moment's relevance or place in history was a natural aspect of the moment's place in the series of moments. This series of moments made up a life that needed

no justification or explanation.

A mirroring of this "continuous present" of life through a writing style is a notion for which Stein is indebted to James. She said that "James knew what he was doing and . . . [saw] that even phrases were no longer necessary to make emotion to make explaining."[32] She saw the phrase mentality of English writing as paralleling the moment living of English life. And in the twentieth century "a phrase no longer soothed, suggested or convinced . . . they needed a whole paragraph."[33] Instead of rising to the challenge, the English of the twentieth century "just went back to the nineteenth century and made it a little weaker."[34]

The Americans led by Henry James "brought about something that made neither words exist for themselves, nor sentences, nor choosing. It created the need of paragraphing."[35] Stein expanded James' own theory so that she eventually found in "The Gradual Making Of The Making Of Americans" that her "sentences grew longer and longer [her] imaginary dependent clauses were constantly being dropped

---

[32] Stein, Lectures, 47.

[33] Ibid., 49.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid., 47.

out."[36] As she explained "the twentieth century was the century not of sentence as was the eighteenth not of phrase as was the nineteenth but of paragraphs."[37] She felt a need to try to exemplify in her writing the impulse of the twentieth century to write in paragraphs.

Stein dedicates many books to the defense of this American new way of thinking, writing, and living. In the first essay of her book Narration she suggests that an American lives a life as it was meant to be lived. This becomes apparent in such quotes as:

> The American not living every minute of every day in a daily way does not make what he has to say to be soothing he wants what he has to say to be exciting, and to move as everything moves, not to move as emotion is moving but to move as anything that really moves is moving.[38]

In this quote the key phrase is "he wants . . . to move as everything moves." This implies that the American was living a life to emulate nature. Everything in life has a natural rhythm. This can be seen from the smallest electron's constant motion to the planets' orbit around the sun. Nature incorporates all of these different rhythms

---

[36] Gertrude Stein, "The Gradual Making Of The Making Of Americans," Selected Writings of Gertrude Stein, ed. Carl Van Vechten (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), 249.

[37] Stein, "The Gradual Making Of The Making Of Americans," 257.

[38] Stein, Narration, 6.

into one great rhythm. It is like a Beethoven symphony in that it consolidates all of the little melodies into a great swelling and ebbing piece of music. I think that through her theories, Stein advocates the need of man to learn to play his part. I believe that in the past man has lived in discord with nature, killing its trees, strip-mining its minerals, and hunting its animals. Somehow Stein unknowingly predicted that man would have to reassess his place in the world and its environment.

For Stein, a writer, to recapture the rhythm of life meant she had to recapture the natural rhythm in her writing. She felt that this was yet another distinction between Americans and English. She says in "The Gradual Making Of The Making Of Americans" that

> in hearing how everybody said the same thing over and over again . . . you could hear it rise and fall and tell all that there was inside of them, not so much by the actual words . . . but by the movement of their thoughts and words endlessly the same and endlessly different.[39]

She felt that the Americans wanted to say things that moved as anything that really moved. However, the Englishman was so caught up in his daily living that he is not able to see or relate to the way things really moved. Only Stein, an American, who did not feel the pressure of daily living, could detect and reveal through her writing life's true

---

[39] Stein, "The Gradual Making Of The Making Of Americans," 252.

movement that she had been living. Thus, she says that: "Of course everything is always inside in one, that anybody knows but the kind of a one that one is all inside one or it is partly not all inside in one."[40] The Americans knew that the one inside of them was really all that the one could be, whereas the English searched for a one that was not completely inside of them.

The next conclusion of Stein's that I would like to address is her idea that the difference between the two people is not only in the way that they live or in how they write but also in how they think. In her Lectures In America, she said that "if you think about what you are thinking you are bound to think about it in phrases."[41] When the English thought it was "not what they said . . ., they said what they thought and they were thinking about what they thought."[42] What Stein is getting at in her somewhat roundabout manner is that the English said one thing and thought another. There was never a connection between thinking and speaking. Thus, what they were saying was not reflecting the truth of what they were thinking. One can infer that the other side of this argument is that somehow Americans said what they said and this was the same

---

[40] Ibid., 252.

[41] Stein, Lectures, 43.

[42] Ibid., 40.

thing as what they thought.

I have suggested throughout this paper that the differences between the American and the English are rooted in the different ways that the two peoples lived their lives. Stein also makes this conclusion. She argued that since "in America they do not live every day . . . American literature tells something because that anything is not connected with what would be daily living."[43] When someone lives a daily living, his perspective and understanding of truth and life is limited by his daily living. Thus when one is not limited by daily living, he is free and will be able to capture life in his writing. By writing about anything that is disconnected from life, one would be really writing about life. Stein points out that it is this very "disembodied way of disconnecting something from anything and anything from something [that made it] the American one."[44] The American had discovered a whole new way of living life, the true way, and thus is able to write about what life really is.

To express this new way of living, this revolutionary thought that separated the Americans from the rest of the world, Stein felt that she had to keep "breaking the paragraph down, and everything down to commence again

---

[43] Ibid., 50.

[44] Ibid., 51.

with not connecting with the daily anything and yet to really choose something."[45] In a way, she was so preoccupied with tearing things down when looking for truth, it seems that she was never able to rebuild.

In some ways her struggle, though revolutionary, is in fact itself part of a long tradition of post-Romantic artists who have felt that they needed to start from scratch. It is artists who, since the nineteenth century, have been the ones who have lived on the fringe of society in order to look back and see what life really meant. It is only with the distancing of the self that the artist has been able to detect the "quiet separation between [each word] that is chosen."[46] However Stein takes this distancing one step further. In Lectures In America she says "what one wants in art is not memories, associations, or resemblances but perfect mergings of action and response; stimulus and affect."[47] From her atelier in Paris Stein wanted to look back on American life and discover and reveal the truth about what living as an American entailed.

Being caught in the very midst of transitional period from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries, Stein was able to comment on both the demise of one century and

---

[45] Ibid., 54.

[46] Ibid., 51.

[47] Ibid., xix.

the birth of another. She noted that "in a century's youth it is rebellion."[48] The new century needs to rebel against all of the established traditions to define itself. As another advantage of being in the transitional period, Stein was able to see that in the early stages of America's coming to age "perhaps we [were] still under its shadow a little bit."[49] Thus, she realized that a century's influence does not just end but is slowly replaced. Hence, a transitional period will have two influences, one waxing and one waning. Consequently, much of the early American literature would still have traces of English influence. Of course given that Stein was essentially an egoist, her works with their understanding of the continuous present were completely American. She took comfort in the fact that "there [was] at any rate going to be more American literature"[50] since the twentieth century was that of the American. It would only be a matter of time before other authors realized the truth she had discovered.

With her geographical and temporal justifications for the American way of living, Stein laid the foundation for the modernist movement that would eventually become the

---

[48] Quoted by Donald Sutherland, "Gertrude Stein And The Twentieth Century," A Primer For The Gradual Understanding Of Gertrude Stein, ed. Robert B. Haas (Los Angeles: Black Sparrow Press, 1971), 154.

[49] Stein, Lectures, 41.

[50] Ibid., 11.

predominant influence of the twentieth century--not just in writing, but in many other art forms including sculpture, painting, and dance. The key to her theory and understanding the modernist movement is what the modern commentator Donald Sutherland describes as "the insistence on the immediate individual thing as a final reality."[51] Stein makes the primacy of the individual almost a new theology. Her rationale was that "God is a single infinite substance. All things are in God. Thus, all things are equally sacred and equally important."[52] I cannot think of a better justification for American democracy and the American way of life.

This was completely contrary to the European way of life. Stein says that in America "the patriarchal family is transcended for a view in which all the component individuals are absolute existent to themselves--as a sum of equal individuals."[53] The established aristocracy of any European community would argue against this theory as being ridiculous. They needed to because the structure of their society was being called into question. Stein was leading a revolution through her writing, trying to overthrow all societal divisions and established hierarchies. Being an

---

[51] Sutherland, 144.

[52] Ibid., 139.

[53] Quoted by Sutherland, 145.

author, the way she found to express herself was to completely revise the way she wrote and the way she used words. It is interesting to note that the world in its present state is much as she described it. And as John L. Brown, a modern commentator puts it: "Her tastes and intuitions have been triumphantly confirmed by the years."[54]

Stein did acknowledge that other artists were making the same conclusions in their own fields. For example, Cezanne was painting in a way such that every spot was "equal and equally emphatic existence."[55] Mondrian worked with the equal emphasis of visual effects or shapes over a whole canvas. Finally, the cubists as a whole believed in the equal diffusion of geometric shapes over a whole canvas. Stein rationalized that "one cannot as a serious artist . . . content oneself with something which is not in on the essential realities and energies of one's time in the real world."[56]

In the end, the modern world is indebted to the American way of living and expressing itself for giving the world a way to understand the "twentieth century when the individual has become as it were absolute and at the same time the collectivity of individuals into a more or less

---

[54] Twentieth Century Authors Biographical Dictionary, 952.

[55] Quoted by Sutherland, 145.

[56] Ibid., 154.

coherent mass."[57] And at least in the literary world, much of this new understanding must be credited to Stein. As Paul Rosenfield said, "the capacity to appreciate her performances is indivisible from that general feeling or spirit making the American experience a success."[58]

---

[57] Ibid., 144.

[58] Twentieth Century Authors, 1337.

Chapter Four: Ernest Hemingway

As shown above, Henry James and Gertrude Stein have different approaches towards addressing the theme of the American in Europe. In the works of James that I discussed, I commented on how he used his characters as objects through which he illustrated particular American and European characteristics. It was in his presentation of these characters' interactions, dialogues, and personal reflections that James tried to reveal his understanding of the unique American identity in comparison to the distinct European identity.

Stein also dealt with the difference between Americans and Europeans. As stated above, she took James' ideas one step further. She thought that her writing style, unique as it was, stood as an exemplary example of what being American really meant. She felt her works somehow exuded a sense of Americanness in their very being and essence. They represented the new American way of looking at and expressing life. Thus, Stein concurred with James on the point that Americans were completely different from Europeans. However, she thought that if Americans were truly going to come to terms with themselves and their unique identity, they needed to rediscover how to live an

American life.

With respect to her endeavors as a writer, Stein offered one of the first written examples of an American throwing out all established rules and idealogies. Before Stein, people were writing to put everything in the context of a common social experience. Stein replaced this concept with her writing that favored a stream of consciousness style.

Hemingway incorporated many of these two authors' unique discoveries and ideas into his own development of the theme of the differences between Americans and Europeans. Like James and Stein, Hemingway agrees that there is an inherent difference between Americans and Europeans. Why else would Americans have to go to Europe? Indeed, Pilar, the leader of the mountain commandoes in For Whom The Bell Tolls, speaks for the group when she says that she respects Robert Jordan, the American freedom fighter, for his knowledge and courage but will never be able to fully accept him because he is an "Ingles." This situation is very similar to the one set up by James in that James felt that an American, no matter how hard he tried, would never fully be accepted by European society.

The unique style that Hemingway eventually developed was heavily influenced by Stein. Hemingway had been Stein's protege when he lived in France and had absorbed much of her theory about style and self-expression.

With time, Hemingway began to understand why Stein said she did not feel the same need that James did to explain everything. It was because she and James were writing in different times. And as Stein pointed out, to explain everything was to accept the nineteenth century British influence in her writing.

Hemingway is much more influenced by Stein than James in the way in which he presents a story. James, in his stories, acts as an omniscient observer who creates his characters through description. He spends pages and pages recording the minutest detail about how a character looks and acts. He looks at a scenario involving an American and European and narrates as if he were a sportscaster. Thus, through his description, he hopes the reader will grasp the whole picture.

In contrast, Stein thought that everything should be written from one perspective, hers. Thus, when she writes about an event or describes a person, she creates a picture of what she sees and feels. Hemingway also writes from a one character perspective. For example, all the events in <u>For Whom The Bell Tolls</u> are described as if seen through the eyes of Jordan. In fact, it is as if Hemingway becomes Jordan to write the novel.

Hemingway clearly learned a great deal from Stein's declaration that American literature had to be revolutionary; it had to be discovery and exploration in the

style and subject manner. Hemingway understood and empathized with this attitude. In many of his novels he tried to emulate her style. One aspect of Stein's style that Hemingway imitated in For Whom The Bell Tolls was her repetition. In her theories Stein suggests that every time you wrote a word you created a different meaning and emphasis. It is apparent that Hemingway was working with this idea in such passages as the following: "All he could remember was at the hour of our death. Amen. At the hour of our death. Amen. At the hour. Amen. The other all were firing. Now and at the hour of our death. Amen."[1] Hemingway used the repetition of the word "Amen" for several reasons. By repeating the word "Amen" throughout the prayer when it usually comes only at the end of a prayer, he is emphasizing the impending doom. Amen followed by Amen followed by Amen is similar to an existential echo that reverberates in the void. Another interesting aspect of Hemingway's use of the Hail Mary Prayer as the structure in this passage is that by breaking it up and starting over, Hemingway is showing the futility of praying. For some reason when the man who is praying is about to be shot he wants to find God. However, he realizes that God is not going to protect him and that he will die if he was meant to die.

Another way that Hemingway was influenced by Stein

---

[1] Ernest Hemingway, For Whom The Bell Tolls (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940), 335.

and her style is the way that he alternates between long sentences and short sentences. In For Whom The Bell Tolls there are many examples of how he used rhythm and sentence structure to emphasize his meaning. At the beginning of one section, Hemingway has a paragraph of description that lasts an entire page. Immediately following this very long introduction, he has the following dialogue:

> "But the pain."
>
> And she said, "Nay there is no pain."
>
> "Rabbit."
>
> "Nay, speak not."
>
> "My rabbit."
>
> "Speak not. Speak not."[2]

Hemingway follows this short section with another page of description. This breaking up of the rhythm accomplishes several purposes. First, Hemingway creates a sort of rising and ebbing rhythm in the long sentences of the paragraphs. This allows the reader to flow through the text, unconsciously aware of the texture of the rhythm. Consequently, the medium becomes transparent and the message becomes clear. However, in the short sentences he breaks thoughts up and intersperses them with conversation. The reader is immediately jarred out of his almost hypnotic state of the long sentence passage to become conscious of

---

[2] Ibid., 379.

the rhythm of the dialogue. This technique is one that Gertrude Stein perfected. In Composition as Explanation she would frequently write a paragraph of long sentences followed by two word sentences.

Hemingway internalizes most of Stein's ideas about style and rhythm to create his own unique manner of dealing with dialogue. As one critic comments, "in his novels there appears the famous 'Hemingway Dialogue' inimitable though alas, too often imitated--short, clipped and bare, the very essence of speech."[3] As another critic, John Bishop, said, he "made midwestern speech into a prose living and alert, capable of saying at all times exactly what he wanted it to say."[4] This is how Hemingway asserts the freedom of expression he felt as an American writer. He did not feel limited to writing long involved descriptions of the characters and their conversations. Instead, he lets the conversations stand by themselves. Hemingway was a master whose "ear for dialogue was flawless and a taster of life who savored emotions by rolling them, as it were, on his tongue."[5] In reference to Hemingway's style, Edmund Wilson said that "with his barometric accuracy he has seized the

---

[3] Twentieth Century Authors Biographical Dictionary: First Supplement, 1955 ed., s.v. "Hemingway, Ernest."

[4] Ibid.

[5] Cyclopedia Of World Authors, 1958 ed., s.v. "Hemingway, Ernest."

real moral feeling of the moment, even though his vision of life is one of perpetual annihilation."[6]

In addition to an influence of style, many of Hemingway's novels and short stories show the influence of Stein in the fact that though he created characters, most of them are merely reflections of his own created image. And the result is an identifiable character type that we may call the "Hemingway hero." This one character perspective of Hemingway's is similar to Stein's "continuous present"--which is always the present of a single character--herself.

The question has been endlessly debated of how close to the historical Hemingway this character type is. This question, however, is not relevant to my argument, and I intend to pass over it here. It suffices to say that most of his characters are very similar in orientation and values. Moreover, in many cases they have the same strengths and weaknesses. Consequently, it seems as if Hemingway created a set type about which all of his stories are written.

Thus, there is a natural evolution in thought and style from James to Hemingway and from Stein to Hemingway. James codified the outside world through description and the fabrication of characters and situations. Like James, Hemingway used characters to embody the American identity so

---

[6] Twentieth Century Authors Biographical Dictionary: First Supplement.

that he could reveal their "Americanness" through their interactions with each other and other Europeans. As Hemingway developed as a writer he extended James' "international novel" to create his own style. He always remained indebted to James for his technique of setting an American in European society and relating how the American performs according to European social customs and mores. More generally, according to R.P. Blackmur, "Hemingway would have been impossible without the maturity to which [James] had brought their craft."[7]

Stein, by contrast with James, was concerned only with the world from her point of view, even to the point of seeming to deny the existence of anyone else. As a result Hemingway seems a combination of these two. In his stories, most of which incorporate characters, the reader never feels the need to have the outside world defined for him by description. Instead, the reader is able partially to enter the sensibility of the character and to become involved in the story through the intensity of the experience that Hemingway creates. In the end, Hemingway leaves the world a body of literature that is uniquely his own but at the same time heavily influenced by those two of his predecessors whom I have been studying here.

One of the works that I wish to consider briefly

---

[7] R.P. Blackmur, Studies In Henry James (New York: New Directions Publishing Co., 1983), 97.

is the novel For Whom The Bell Tolls, since it a prime example of the way in which he portrays an American in Europe. Written after his experience as a correspondent for the North American Newspaper Alliance during the Spanish Civil War, this is a novel in which he addresses the fundamental differences between an American and a European. The story focuses on three days in the life of Robert Jordan, an American who has volunteered his services to the loyalist force in Spain. Jordan, who had taught Spanish in a university in the States before he went to Spain, has been trained as an explosives expert. His missions entail going behind enemy lines to destroy different key military targets. For Whom The Bell Tolls revolves around his last mission in which he was supposed to blow up a bridge as one part of a large counter attack plan. With Robert Jordan, Hemingway is representing a completely different type of American than did James.

Though for both James and Hemingway Europeans and Americans are different, however, the ways in which this is so in each author are quite divergent. It is clear that most of the characters in James "international" novels follow a certain pattern, those in Hemingway another. James' pattern is that of an innocent and somewhat naive American who goes to Europe with the desire to experience the culture and to become educated. The innocent American usually arrives in Europe with little understanding of what

the old world was like or what he could expect. The rest of the story is usually based on the gradual enlightenment of the American with regards to his understanding of the intolerance and corruption of European aristocracy. The educational experience of the Americans is accomplished through their interacting with Europeans. The result of such encounters was usually that the American was taken advantage of or spurned by the Europeans for being American. The last aspect of the formula centered on a moral struggle within the story. By the end of a story, the American was either corrupted by his contact with the Europeans or vindicated in that he returned to America with his morals intact. Either way, the American returned somewhat jaded by his experience.

In Hemingway, the formula is different. Hemingway's characters, like those of James, are attracted to Europe. However, they are not drawn to its cultural and educational aspects. Instead they go to Europe to find something that, Hemingway implies, no longer exists in America. In the early days of its growth as a country, America offered to the would-be explorer plentiful unconquered lands and peoples. This was the lure and attraction of America for many Europeans. The men that did make the journey across the ocean were like those that Turner described as frontiersmen. They came to America because it was a challenge and offered great rewards to

those who could persevere. However, with time all of America was conquered. Thus, the men who still felt the urge to conquer the wild had no place to go.

This is the situation that Hemingway is addressing in his works--For Whom The Bell Tolls among them. The Hemingway hero is characteristically unsatisfied with life in America for one reason or another and must turn outside of America to try to appease his restless spirit. This restless spirit of the Americans that Hemingway develops is one side of the American identity that has distinguished Americans from the rest of the world. Other authors like Tocqueville and Turner have perceived that there was something in the American character that always searched for new and exciting adventures. Moreover Hemingway, like Turner, suggests that since American men have always been involved in conquering the West or defeating the Indians, they have developed a sort of macho code to govern their behavior. This code could be compared to the chivalrous code that bound knights to fight in the Middle Ages. Through his characters, Hemingway suggests that the modern American man had an inherent need to assert his maleness through tests of strength or feats of courage. Yet now that America could not act as a proving ground, the only places left in the world for a man to prove his worth were outside of North America. Thus the Hemingway hero, being an American, was required to leave the U.S. to recover his

masculinity.

One of the best explanations for the reason why the Hemingway hero had to leave the United States (and, in the case of Jordan, go to Europe) is found in the short story "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber," which in fact takes place not in Europe, but in Africa. This is a story about an American, Francis Macomber, who travels to Africa to do some big-game hunting. This story is largely told from the point of view of the narrator, Wilson. This character is clearly the one whose value judgments Hemingway approves of. Thus, it is possible to see Hemingway speaking through Wilson in some instances.

The most interesting aspect of this story is that the title character is not initially a hero. In fact, at the beginning of the story it is made clear that Macomber, the protagonist, was actually a coward. He proved his cowardice only a day before the narration begins. Macomber had been hunting lions with Wilson, when he suddenly became overwhelmed by the reality of killing a lion. His bewilderment caused him to freeze and in doing so not only endanger his life but also the lives of the other people in the hunting party. Afterwards, Hemingway says of Macomber: "The fear was still there like cold slimy hollow in all the emptiness where once his confidence had been and it made him

feel sick."[8] He realizes that he failed when his courage was tested. To further add to his guilt, Macomber's wife and Wilson lose all respect for him. They deem him unfit as a husband and hunting partner because of his cowardice.

After Macomber's first attempt he deemed himself a failure and felt that he was forever destined to feel "empty on the inside." Wilson notes this as being a trait common to many Americans. He says: "It's that some of them stay little boys so long . . . the great American boy-men. Damned strange people."[9] This supports the conclusion that for some reason American society no longer provided enough opportunity for American boys to become American men. They needed to find other locations to assert their manliness.

It is not until Macomber successfully kills an animal that he feels for the first time that he is a man. The day after the disastrous lion shoot he heads back into the jungle to hunt a lesser foe, the buffalo. This time he hits three and is credited for killing at least two of them. Macomber notes the difference in feeling when he says that: "He expected the feeling he had about the lion to come back but it did not. For the first time in his life he really felt wholly without fear. Instead of fear he had a feeling

---

[8] Ernest Hemingway, "The Short Happy Life Of Francis Macomber," Literature: Reading Fiction, Poetry, Drama, and the Essay, ed. Robert DiYanni (New York: Random House, 1986), pp. 221-256. Here p. 233.

[9] Ibid., 245.

of definite elation."[10] This is the feeling that most of Hemingway's heroes were searching for. They felt that once they had conquered their fear, they would never "be afraid of anything again."[11] Wilson ponders upon the change in Macomber and concludes that "it had taken a strange chance of hunting, a sudden precipitation into action without opportunity for worrying beforehand, to bring this about with Macomber."[12] Thus, for Hemingway, a man must be able to free himself of all mental and psychological restraints before he can be confident that he will be able to act appropriately when forced to act spontaneously.

For Jordan in For Whom The Bell Tolls war is similar to what the safari was for Macomber. To him war had become like a rite of passage. At one time, when Jordan was thinking about how he was going to blow up the bridge, he reflected upon a previous war time experience and concluded that:

> You learned the dry-mouthed, fear-purged, purging ecstasy of battle and you fought that summer and that fall for all the poor in the world, against all tyranny, for all the things that you believed and for the new world you had been educated into . . . It was in those days he thought, that you had a deep and sound and selfless pride.[13]

---

[10] Ibid., 244.

[11] Ibid., 245.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Hemingway, For Whom The Bell Tolls, 162.

Thus, Jordan revealed that at the beginning of the war he was idealistic. During those first experiences he romanticized his role in war. He felt that he was fighting for a cause and in doing so was proving to the world that he was a man.

Much of Jordan's motivation in For Whom The Bell Tolls can be attributed to his need to recover and abide by this "macho code." For example, early in the story Jordan says he was "extremely hungry. He was often hungry but he was not usually worried because he did not give any importance to what happened to himself."[14] Thus, Jordan is willing to, and in the end does, sacrifice his own life in defense of the principles that he believes in. The only other reason that Jordan is fighting in the Spanish Civil War was that he felt a need to prove himself as a man. His almost obsessive need stems from a guilt he has been carrying with him all of his life. He believed his father was a coward for not fighting in a war. Jordan felt a need to assert his manliness to make up for what he sees as his father's cowardice. Throughout the novel, Jordan seeks to emulate not his father but rather his grandfather who had won honors in the Indian wars. In fact, when Jordan doubts his own ability and courage, he calls upon his grandfather's spirit to give him courage.

---

[14] Ibid., 4.

However, with time Jordan begins to realize the futility and brutality of war. Anselmo, an elder peasant commando who has been hardened by his experiences in war, reflected when he was on watch: "The killing is necessary, I know, but still the doing of it is very bad for a man and I think that, after all this is over and we have won the war, there must be a penance of some kind for the cleansing of us all."[15] Jordan eventually realizes the truth of this when, after he has killed several enemy cavalrymen, he began thinking about the purpose of all the bloodshed. He thought to himself, "You mustn't believe in killing, he told himself. You must do it as a necessity but you must not believe in it. If you believe in it the whole thing is wrong."[16]

This realization of Jordan's about war--indeed, about life as a whole--is one that most of Hemingway's heroes make during their lives. As one critic notes, Jordan, in For Whom The Bell Tolls, is just one "variation on the same theme; man is a doomed creature, whose only virtue and only hope is to face the inevitable stoically."[17] Jordan realizes this when he says "Your nationality and your politics did not show when you were

---

[15] Ibid., 196.

[16] Ibid., 304.

[17] Twentieth Century Authors Biographical Dictionary: First Supplement, 1955 ed., s.v. "Hemingway, Ernest."

dead."[18]

This theme appears in several other novels and short stories. The most famous is The Sun Also Rises in which Hemingway wrote about the American expatriates in Paris. The people in this story are so overwhelmed by the futility of their lives that they never do anything constructive. They move from one bar to the next, drinking, dancing, and loving. Stein characterized these people as "the lost generation"[19] and praised Hemingway as their spokesman who was able to capture so vividly their apathetic attitude towards life.

The Sun Also Rises recounts the life of Jake Barnes and his friends. When in America, Barnes realized that he had not really lived very much and thus could not enjoy life. He thought that by moving to Europe he would be able to live more. Consequently, Barnes explored all of Europe looking for adventures and excitement. However, after his travels, he concluded that "Nobody ever knows anything"[20] and that "You can't get away from yourself by moving from one place to another. There's nothing to

---

[18] Hemingway, For Whom The Bell Tolls, 238.

[19] Cyclopedia Of World Authors, 1958 ed., s.v. "Hemingway, Ernest."

[20] Ernest Hemingway, The Sun Also Rises (New York: Macmillan Pub. Co., 1926), 27.

that."[21] Thus, Jake has become overwhelmed by the nothingness that he feels. He stands as an example of the modern American who is wracked by a certain latent hopelessness.

Yet perhaps the best example of this attitude is once again that of Robert Jordan. The only hope Jordan had to continue living was to try, in his own meager way, to reinforce the goodness in his life. This is one reason why when he decided to write a book he promised he would "write only about the things he knew, truly, and about what he knew."[22] The implication here is rather negative: the American must leave the U.S. (usually in the direction of Europe) to find himself, but what he finds is either death, like Macomber and Jordan, or nothingness at his core, like Jake Barnes. Americans for Hemingway are different from Europeans and other peoples. They lack something the Europeans do not. Americans, Hemingway seems to suggest, are more driven, and somehow more hollow. He needed to reassert for himself the truth he had discovered in the wars he fought, depressing though it might be.

Thus, Hemingway explores a darker side of the American identity than was explored by James and Stein. He seems to suggest that Americans, precisely because they are

---

[21] Ibid., 11.

[22] Ibid., 248.

Americans, are driven by the need to become something they are not. Yet it is because they are Americans that they possess this lack to begin with. Hemingway seems, in fact, to offer a reversion of the French vision of the New World as a land of noble savages. For Hemingway it almost appears that the Americans must go outside of North America in search of more elemental experiences, and people, than their now-tamed land has to offer. For Hemingway the only challenge left in North America that can satisfy his need to rediscover his own masculinity is fishing in Michigan or off the Florida Keys. However, even this is nothing more than a escape--certainly not a solution to the problem.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

Henry James, Gertrude Stein, and Ernest Hemingway all present different facets of the situation of the American in Europe. It is the complexity of their respective presentations of the American identity that indicates the difference between the three authors. James had travelled in Europe extensively, and through extremely well-crafted characters tried to present the types of Americans that he had encountered. By creating scenarios involving Americans and Europeans, James made clear the distinction he found between Americans and Europeans. Stein built upon James' idea that Americans and Europeans were inherently different. She thought that by expressing herself through her unique style, she would be distinguishing herself as an American. Moreover, she felt that if she wrote as an American she would be more direct in her presentation of the American identity than if she portrayed the American identity in the bodies of characters, as James did.

Both of these authors' influence can be found in Hemingway's own presentation of the American in Europe. Like James, Hemingway used characters to portray the American identity. Moreover, most of Hemingway's characters

had strong inclinations to go to Europe. The main difference was that James' characters tended to travel to Europe for the cultural value, whereas Hemingway's characters tended to travel to Europe in order to reestablish meaning in their lives. Hemingway suggests that America had somehow lost its value as a place for men to prove themselves. If Hemingway heroes wanted to prove their strength and fortitude they had to go to Europe or Africa and seek wars, bull fights, or big game hunting.

Although each author had his own way of expressing his or her perspective of the American in Europe, they were similar in several ways. First, they all travelled and spent most of their lives in Europe. This led them to discover a difference in the American and European's identities. Second, they were similar in that they sought to express this discovery in a unique way. Thus, although they were different in the way that they expressed themselves, they were similar in that they longed to discover a unique way to do so.

In order for an author to represent something or someone, he must become familiar with that thing or person. The author has the choice of whether to examine the object closely or at a distance. The three authors that I have discussed have chosen the American in Europe as their object of examination. As stated above, James created distinct American characters arranged in configuration of plots.

Thus, he achieved the greatest distance in his expression of the relation between Americans and Europeans. Stein represents the closest vantage point of observation. She believes that Americans understand one overall sensibility that inspires them to live very independent and distinct lives. Thus, she expressed this Americanness by doing her writing in the way she did.

Hemingway has created a distance from the American which is inbetween when compared to the distances achieved by James and Stein. He created a consistent persona, the character of the "Hemingway hero." This was neither the distanced American characters of James, nor the expression of Americanness by action of Stein. Thus, in the way that he presents his own unique perspective of the American in Europe, he has achieved an intermediate distance from the object he is examining.

Yet perhaps the most fascinating aspect of these three authors writing stories that presented the American identity in Europe is that all three devoted their lives to it. This is interesting because all three were writing at different phases of the turn of the century. James, the earliest, began writing in the late 1800's and continued with his development of the theme of American identity well into the early years of the nineteenth century. Stein began writing in the early 1900's and kept producing original works into the late forties. Finally, although he was

writing at the same time as Stein, Hemingway was representative of a completely new way of thinking and writing embodied by the "lost generation." Thus, although these are only three of the many writers that wrote about the experiences of Americans in Europe, their combined history spans almost eighty years.

Their works on the subject stand as attempts to articulate the relations between Americans and Europeans. The only conclusion that we can make is that during the eighty year time span in which they wrote, there was a reason for these authors to try to define the differences between the two peoples. As I pointed out in the introduction, the turn of the century was a time of great growth for America. The country evolved from a basically agrarian society to become an industrial leader of the world economy. Along with its growth and discoveries in industry, America made great strides in other areas as well. America grew from a small relatively inconsequential nation in the middle 1800's to a recognized super-power after World War I.

During this time of growth of America's economic and political influence, the people of America began to try to define their own societal identity. Thus, in the early twentieth century many Americans travelled to Europe in order to examine all that Europe had to offer. Many Americans absorbed the European influence, brought it back to America, and created a new culture that was a combination

of the old and the new. It was during this time of self-discovery that James, Stein, and Hemingway wrote. Through their works they tried to help conceptualize what this new American identity was and how it differed from the European.

After World War II, when America's political dominance was established, very few people could question its cultural dominance. Today, Hollywood films are shown in every western capital, Coca-Cola has become the "national" drink of the world, and there is even a McDonald's in Moscow. No longer was their a need for Americans to write about the emerging American identity. America had established itself as one of the major powers and consequently imposed its views and values on the rest of the world.

In view of these facts, the relevance of my paper to the 1990's becomes obvious. For now, after the tearing down of both the real and symbolic Berlin wall, America will have to reassess its place in the world. No longer is the threat of communism and the eventual dominance of the Evil Empire a reality. The American containment policy of the Cold War is antiquated. With each new Eastern European nation claiming its independence there is less and less communism to contain, with the hard-line communist nations like Ethiopia and Cuba becoming more and more isolated. Moreover, with the rise to economic prominence of nations like Japan and a unified Germany, America will have to

resign itself to being one of several major powers rather than the dominant world influence.

Thus, today it is once again important to discover and reveal the differences between Americans and Europeans. In fact in April of this year, I sat in Mahan Hall and heard the retired Ambassador to The Soviet Union, Paul Nitze, speak on this very subject. He insisted that America needs to show the world that it has no territorial or ideological ambition beyond supporting and promoting the diversity of the world. This attitude is quite different from the containment theory that he advocated after the Korean War and is indicative of a changing attitude in all levels of American bureaucracy.

Now that areas besides Europe have begun to exert an influence in the world, this idea of distinguishing between peoples could be applied to the Orient, Africa, or South America. All people in the world are destined to have differing points of views with regards to world proposals that affect them. It is important to understand their point of view and to take it into consideration when America establishes its own foreign policy. Moreover, it is important for the safety of future generations to have established a mutual understanding and respect among the people of the world so that all can work together to preserve what we enjoy today.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

Henry James, Gertrude Stein, and Ernest Hemingway all present different facets of the American in Europe. It is the complexity of their respective presentations of the American identity that indicates the difference between the three authors. James had traveled in Europe extensively and through extremely well-crafted characters tried to present the types of Americans that he had encountered. By creating scenarios involving Americans and Europeans, James made clear the distinction he found between Americans and Europeans. Stein built upon James' idea that Americans and Europeans were inherently different. She thought that by expressing herself through her unique style, she would be distinguishing herself as an American. Moreover, she felt that if she wrote as an American she would be more direct in her presentation of the American identity than if she portrayed the American identity in the bodies of characters, as James did.

Both of these authors' influence can be found in Hemingway's own presentation of the American in Europe. Like James, Hemingway used characters to portray the American identity. Moreover, most of Hemingway's characters had strong inclinations to go to Europe. The main difference was that James' characters tended to travel to Europe for the cultural

value, whereas Hemingway's characters tended to travel to Europe in order to reestablish meaning in their lives. Hemingway suggests that America had somehow lost its value as a place for men to prove themselves. If Hemingway men wanted to prove their strength and fortitude they had to go to Europe and seeking wars, the bull fights, or big game hunting.

Hemingway is indebted to Stein in the way that he presents his characters. Like Stein, Hemingway felt that it was necessary to try to express his American identity by narrating all of his stories from one perspective. He also incorporated many of her stylistic innovations. Accordingly, in many of his works there can be examples found of long involved sentences being followed by short dialogues. There also many examples of Hemingway experimenting with word rhythm and sentence structure.

Although each author had his own way of expressing his perspective of the American in Europe, they were similar in several ways. First, they all travelled and spent most of their lives in Europe. This led them to discover a difference in the American and European's identities. Second, they were similar in that they sought to express this discovery in a unique way. Thus, although they were different in the way that they expressed themselves, they were similar in that they longed to discover a unique way to do so.

The most fascinating aspect of these three authors

writing stories that presented the American identity in Europe is that all three devoted their lives to it. This is interesting because all three writers were writing in different time periods. James began writing in the late eighteen hundreds and continued with his development of the American identity well into the early years of the nineteenth century. Stein began writing in the early nineteen hundreds and kept producing original works into the forties. Finally, although he was writing as the same time as Stein, Hemingway wrote as the representative of a new "lost generation." Thus, although these are only three of the many writers that wrote about the experiences of Americans in Europe, their combined history spans almost eighty years.

Their works on the subject of the American in Europe stand as attempts to articulate the relations between Americans and Europeans. The only conclusion that we can make is that during the eighty year time span in which they wrote, there was a reason for these authors to try to define the differences between the two peoples. As I pointed out in the introduction, the turn of the century was a time of great growth for America. The country evolved from an agricultural nation to become an industrial leader of the world economy. Along with its growth and discoveries in industry, America made great strides in other areas as well. All in all America grew from a small relatively inconsequential nation in the middle eighteen hundreds to a recognized super power after

World War I.

Along with the growth of America's economical and political influence, I think that during this time the people of America began to try to define their own societal identity. Thus, in the early twentieth century many Americans travelled to Europe in order to examine all that Europe had to offer. Many Americans absorbed the European influence, brought it back to America, and created a new culture that was a combination of the old and the new. It was during this time of self-discovery that James, Stein, And Hemingway wrote. Through their works they tried to help conceptualize what this new American identity was and how it differed from the European.

After World War II, when America's political dominance was unquestioned, America began its own cultural imperialism. No longer was their a need for Americans to write about the emerging American identity. America had established itself as one of two major super powers and consequently imposed its views and values on the rest of the world. Thus, during this time there was a noticeable decrease in the number of "international novels" since people were no longer concerned with the emerging American identity.

In view of these facts, the relevance of my paper to for the 1990's becomes obvious. For now, after the tearing down of both the real and symbolic Berlin wall, America will have to reassess its place in the world. No longer is the

threat of communism and the eventual dominance of the Evil Empire a reality. The American containment policy of the Cold War is no longer appropriate. With each Eastern European nation that claims its independence there is less and less communism to contain. Moreover, with the rise of other Economic powers throughout the world, America can no longer claim to be one of two superpowers. It is very feasible to assume that by the turn of this century, America will be only one of four or five nations that exerts global influence.

Once again it is important to discover and reveal the differences between Americans and Europeans. If I may paraphrase the retired U.S Ambassador to Russia Paul Nitza, "America needs to show the world that it has no territorial or ideological ambition beyond supporting and promoting the diversity of the world." This attitude is quite different form the containment theory that he advocated after the Korean War. In fact this quote is indicative of a changing attitude in all levels of American bureaucracy.

The idea of analyzing and presenting the differences between Americans and Europeans once again becomes appropriate. Moreover, now that areas besides Europe have begun to exert an influence in the world, this idea of distinguishing between peoples could be applied to the Orient, Africa, or South America. All people in the world will have different point of views about proposals and ideas. It is important to take into consideration their point of view when

America establishes foreign policy. Moreover, it is important for the safety of future generations to have established a mutual understanding and respect among all the peoples of the world so that all will work together to preserve what we have today.

Works Cited

Banta, Martha. ed. New Essays On The American. Cambridge: Cambridge UP., 1987.

Billington, Ray A. America's Frontier Heritage. Alburquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974.

Blackmur, R.P. Studies In Henry James. New York : New Directions Publishing Co., 1983.

Cargill, Oscar. "A Surge Of Patriotic Indignation." The American. pp. 426-41. Edited by James Tuttleton. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1978.

Chase, Richard. The American Novel And Its Tradition. New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1957.

Current-Garcia, Eugene and Patrick, Walton R. American Short Stories. Chicago: Scott, Foesman and Co., 1964.

Cyclopedia of World Authors. 1958 ed. S.v. "Henry James."

Dictionary Of Literary Biography. vol. 74. S.v. "Henry James," by Robert Gale.

Edel, Leon. "A Portrait In National Ambiguities." TheAmerican. pp. 415-26. Edited by James Tuttleton. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1978. 415-26.

Grebstein, Sheldon N. ed. Studies In For Whom The Bell Tolls. Columbus : Charles E. Merrill Pub. Co., 1971.

Hemingway, Ernest. A Farewell To Arms. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927.

Hemingway, Ernest. A Moveable Feast. New York: Macmillan Pub. Co., 1964.

Hemingway, Ernest. For Whom The Bell Tolls. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968.

Hemingway, Ernest. "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber." Literature: Reading Fiction, Poetry and the Essay. Edited by Robert DiYanni. New York: Random House, 1986.

Hemingway, Ernest. The Sun Also Rises. New York: MacmillanPub. Co., 1926.

Howe, Irving. "Henry James and The Millionaire." The American.pp. 442-5. Edited by James Tuttleton. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1978.

James, Henry. "Americans Abroad." The American. pp. 357-62.Edited by James Tuttleton. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1978.

James, Henry. "An International Episode." The Great ShortNovels Of Henry James. Edited by Philip Rahv. New York: Dial Press Inc., 1957.

James, Henry. "Daisy Miller." Daisy Miller and Other Stories.Edited by Michael Swan. New York: Penguin Books, 1963.

James, Henry. "Madame de Mauves." The Great Short Novels Of Henry James. Edited by Philip Rahv. New York: Dial Press Inc., 1957.

James, Henry. The American. 2 vols., New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907.

James, Henry. The Art Of The Novel. London: Charles Scribner's Sons,1934.

James, Henry. The Portrait Of A Lady. New York: Random House, 1951.

Kenner, Hugh. A Homemade World. New York: William Morrow and Co., Inc., 1975.

Lewis, Fred. The Development Of The American Short Story. New York: Pattee Harper and Brothers Pub., 1923.

Rousseau, J. J. "The Social Contract." Social Contract. Edited by Ernest Barker. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980.

Sheldon, Frederick. "The American Colony In France." The American. pp. 351-56. Edited by James Tuttleton. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1978.

Spears, Monroe K. "Tocqueville in 1989." The Hudson Review.3 (1989): 369-420.

Stafford, William T. Perspectives on James': The Portrait Of A Lady. New York: New York UP., 1967.

Stein, Gertrude. A Primer For The Gradual Understanding of Gertrude Stein. Edited by Robert Haas. Los Angeles:

Black Sparrow Press, 1971.

Stein, Gertrude. Lectures In America. Boston: Beacon Press, 1985.

Stein, Gertrude. Narration. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935.

Stein, Gertrude. The Autobiography Of Alice B. Toklas. Edited by Carl Ven Vechten: Selected Writings Of Gertrude Stein. New York: Vintage Books, 1962.

Stein, Gertrude. "The Gradual Making Of The Americans." Edited by Carl Van Vechten: Selected Writings Of Gertrude Stein. Edited by Carl Van Vechten. New York: Vintage Books, 1962.

Sutherland, Donald. "Gertrude Stein And The Twentieth Century." A Primer For The Gradual Understanding Of Gertrude Stein. pp. 137-56. Edited by Robert Haas. Los Angeles: Black Sparrow Press, 1971.

Tocqueville, Alexis de. Democracy In America. trans. Henry Reeve. 2 vols. New York: P.F. Collier and Son, 1900.

Tuttleton, James W. ed. "Henry James: The Superstitious Valuation Of Europe." The American. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1978.

Twentieth Century Authors. 1942 ed. S.v. "Ernest Hemingway."

Twentieth Century Authors. 1942 ed. S.v. "Gertrude Stein."

Twentieth Century Authors Biographical Dictionary: First Supplement. 1955 ed. S.v. "Ernest Hemingway."

Twentieth Century Authors Biographical Dictionary: First Supplement. 1955 ed. S.v. "Gertrude Stein."